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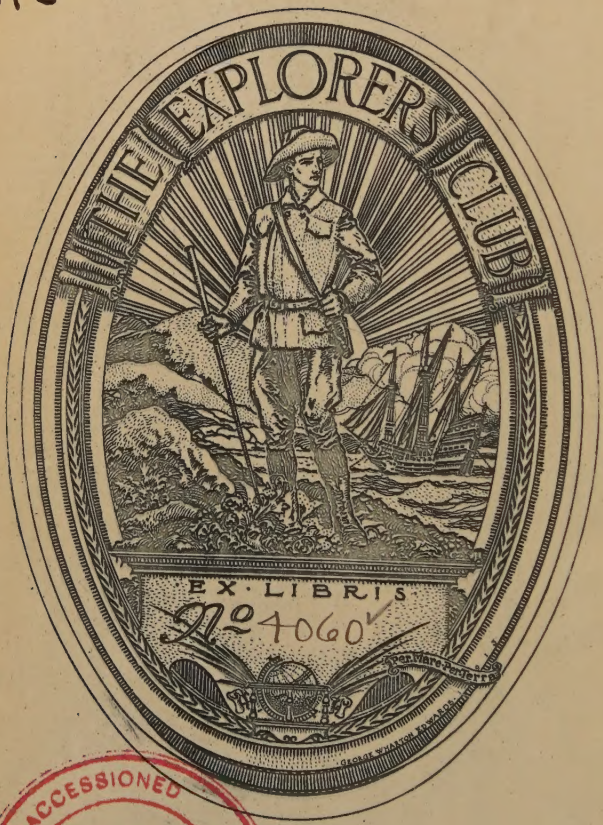

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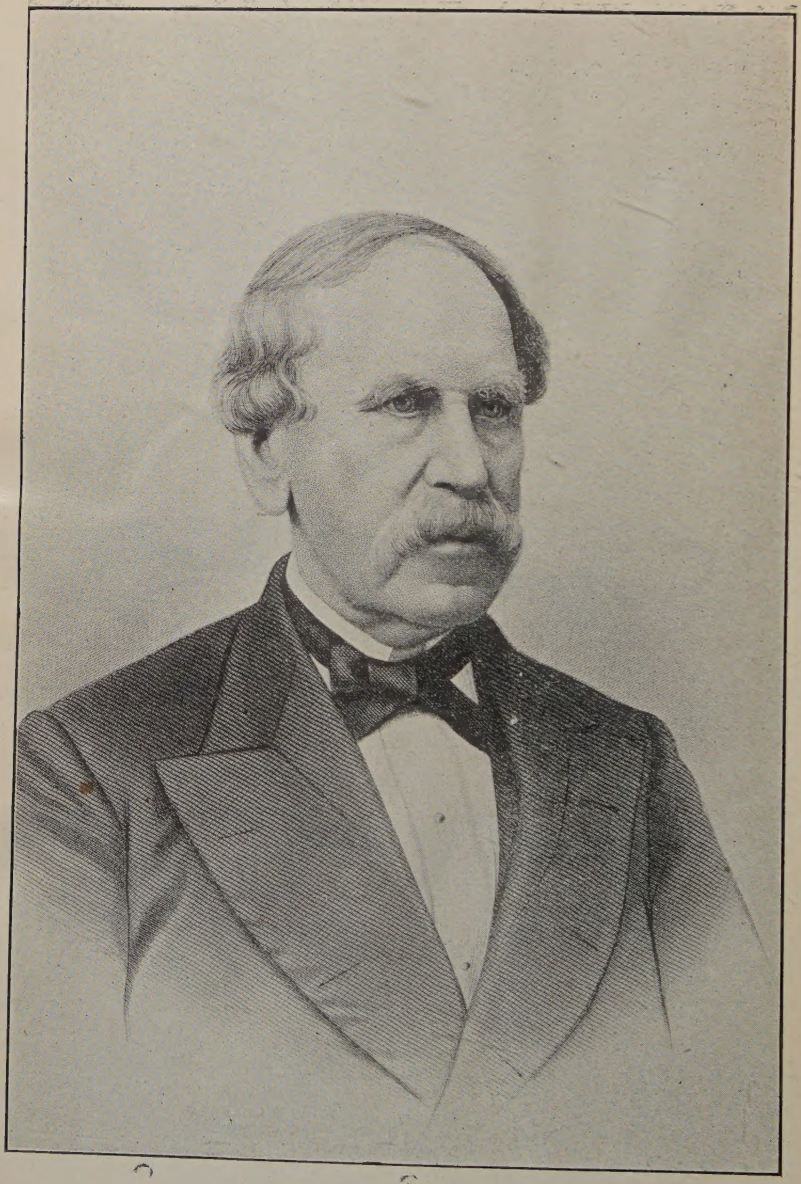

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Archæological and Historical

PUBLICATIONS.

Volume I.

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A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF EMILIUS OVIATT RANDALL.

RANDALL, EMILIUS OVIATT, lawyer, professor, editor, was born at Richfield, O., Oct. 28, 1850, only son of David Austin and Harriet Newton (Oviatt) Randall. Mr. Randall's father was a distinguished clergyman, platform speaker and the author of many scholarly books.

EMILIUS OVIATT RANDALL.

Both grandfathers of his father (D. A. Randall), James Randall and Patrick Grant Pemberton, made conspicuous records as soldiers in the American Army during the Revolution. Mr. Randall's mother was the daughter of Capt. Heman Oviatt, who emigrated from Connecticut to Hudson, Ohio., in 1800. Her grandfather, Benjamin Oviatt, served in the Connecticut Continental troops. Being an invalid during his early youth, he was instructed exclusively by his father until he was sixteen years of age, when he entered the public schools of Columbus. After traveling with his father in Europe one year he fitted for college at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., and entering Cornell University was graduated in 1874, taking the degree of Ph. B. He subsequently spent two years in post-graduate studies at Cornell and in Europe. He was engaged in mercantile business in Columbus from 1876 to 1890, being the head of the firm of E. O. Randall & Co., the most extensive book and stationery house in central Ohio. For some time he was editor of the Columbus "Gazette," and wrote frequently for the daily and weekly papers of the state. He was president of the Columbus board of trade during the years 1887–88; member of the board of education from 1888 to 1890; member of the board of trustees of the Columbus public library and reading room, and chairman of the book committee from 1884 to 1900. In June, 1890, he was admitted to the bar by the supreme court of Ohio, and the following year he retired from mercantile life in order to devote himself to a professional and literary career. In 1892 he was graduated at the College of Law of the Ohio State University, receiving the degrees of LL. B. and LL. M., and became an instructor there. In 1894 was elected to the professorship of law, which position he still holds. In February, 1893, he was appointed trustee of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and in 1894 its secretary, an office

he still retains. He has edited and published six volumes of historical documents pertaining to Ohio, and is editor of the quarterly published by the society. Since May, 1895, he has been official reporter of the supreme court of Ohio, to which position he was appointed by the judges of the court. He has annotated and published twelve volumes (52 to 63, Ohio State Reports, inclusive) of the opinions of the court. He was associate editor of "The Bench and Bar of Ohio" (1897), and in 1900 published a "History of the Zoar Society, a Sociological Study." He is a member of the American Historical Association; American Bar Association; American Library Association; Society of the Sons of the American Revolution; is widely known as a lecturer, a ready and entertaining speaker, and is especially successful as an after-dinner orator. He is the author of several pamphlets and monographs on literary and historical subjects. He was married, Oct. 28, 1874, to Mary, daughter of John H. and Catherine A. (Granger) Coy, of Ithaca, N. Y., both descendants of early New England colonists. They have a daughter, Rita, and two sons, David Austin and Sherman Bronson Randall. — *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography.*

OHIO
Archæological and Historical
QUARTERLY.

JUNE, 1887.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE COLONIAL SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES.[1]

THE formation of this society comes at an opportune moment. In a little more than three years a century will have elapsed since the first permanent white settlement was made within the limits of the great region Northwest of the River Ohio. That settlement was the beginning, not only of this good State of Ohio, but also of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, which have all been formed from that Northwest Territory. It was not an accidental settlement that was made on the 7th of April, 1788, at the mouth of the Muskingum, nor was it any fortuitous collection of men that first planted themselves on the soil of Ohio. It was the result of careful deliberation by wise and prudent and patriotic men. The decade in which that settlement was made was the era of a greater number of important events affecting the interests of the United States than any other decade in our National history. And these events were almost all closely connected with the founding of the State of Ohio.

Among these events were the adoption of the Articles of Confederation between the thirteen States; the provisional treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1782, and the definitive

[1] An address delivered before the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society at its first public meeting, March 12th, 1885.

treaty in 1783; the petition, in the latter year, of a large number of officers of the army of the revolution, that their bounty lands might be located between Lake Erie and the Ohio; the cessions of four States claiming large tracts in this Northwest Territory; the passage of the ordinance for surveying public lands in 1785; the formation of the Ohio Company of Associates in 1786; the passage of the celebrated ordinance in 1787 for the government of the territory Northwest of the river Ohio; the purchase by the Ohio Company in 1787 and the planting of the colony in the next year; the framing of the Constitution by the Convention in 1787, its ratification the next year by a sufficient number of States to secure its adoption, and the full establishment of all the departments of the government with the inauguration of Washington as the first President in 1789. All these events, save those pertaining to the new Constitution, were directly connected with the Ohio region, and most of them also, with its first settlement at Marietta.

The action of the Continental Congress, July 4th, 1776, declared the freedom and independence of the United States, and the army of the revolution under the direction of Congress made good that declaration. But what were the limits of the United States? The Atlantic ocean was our boundary on the East, but what was it on the West and North? Boundary lines between nations are settled by treaties. We wanted the largest area; Great Britain would confine us to the smallest. King George and his ministers contended strenuously for the Ohio river as the dividing line. And France, whose troops had fought so valiantly for our independence, was really more anxious for the same line than for one farther North. Spain, too, which was also at war with Great Britain, was determined to keep us to the south of the Ohio and as near as possible to the base of the Alleghenies. Three treaties were in negotiation at the same time by Great Britain; with the United States, with France, and with Spain. Questions of territory entered into them all; for France had formerly claimed the whole valley of the Mississippi from the Rocky Mountains to the Alleghenies, and Spain was at

that time in possession of all west of the Mississippi, and all Florida, reaching west to that river. The latter power, indeed, advanced a claim to the Illinois region, because of the conquest in the winter of 1781, of the English Fort St. Joseph, near the source of the Illinois river. The narrower the limits within which France and Spain could succeed in confining the United States, the better terms of territory could they probably secure for themselves.

Then, unfortunately, our commissioners were hampered by the resolutions of Congress that required them to be guided, in negotiating the treaty, by the advice of the French Government. But when Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay became convinced that both "France and Spain intended either to secure the western country to themselves, or yield it to Great Britain for an equivalent elsewhere, they determined to act for themselves and conclude the treaty without consulting the French Court or its ministers." (Pitkin, Vol. II, p. 148.) The American commissioners certainly in this disregarded their instructions, but they did what they believed the best interests of their country imperatively demanded, and were willing to take the responsibility. I refer to these negotiations because they were concerned with the ownership of the very territory where we now dwell, and to show that the existence of Ohio and these other northwestern States hung upon the firmness of those American commissioners at Paris in the autumn of 1782.

The French minister was not a little disturbed by the independent action of our commissioners, and wrote a note to Dr. Franklin which was certainly embarrassing even to that skillful diplomatist. But Franklin's candid admission that they had "been guilty of neglecting a point of *bienseance*," and his protestation that it "was not from any want of respect for the King, whom we love and honor," and his hope "that the great work which has hitherto been so happily brought to perfection, and is so glorious to his reign, will not be ruined by a single indiscretion," mollified the Count de Vergennes, and the terms of the provisional treaty of 1782 remained unchanged in the definitive treaty of 1783.

By this treaty the claims of Great Britain, France and Spain to the territory northwest of the Ohio were virtually withdrawn. But there was a question of ownership among the States. Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut claimed it in whole or in part. It was these conflicting claims that caused the delay in ratifying the Articles of Confederation. Maryland and some other States insisted that this territory belonged to the Nation and not to individual States. "Territory wrested from England by the common efforts and sacrifices of the people should belong," they said, "to the whole and not to a part." Congress, unwilling to decide between them, urged all the claimants to yield their claims. New York led the way in the matter of cessions. On the first of March, 1781, her delegates made an absolute surrender of her claim. On the same day the delegates of Maryland signed the Articles of Confederation, thus making the Union formally complete.

The other cessions followed, though not as rapidly as was hoped, nor were all made without conditions, as was that of New York. That of Virginia was early in 1784. She ceded her claim to any territory north of the Ohio, reserving, however, the region between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers as bounty lands for her soldiers, and a tract in Illinois for George Rogers Clarke and his associates. The next year came the cession of Massachusetts, absolute like that of New York; and the year following that of Connecticut. Like Virginia's, the cession of Connecticut was coupled with a reservation.

These two reservations, making a pretty large fraction of the State of Ohio, were excepted from the operation of that great system of surveys which the Continental Congress initiated by the Land Ordinance of 1785. It would have been desirable if the system of uniform ranges, townships, and sections, which commenced with the seven ranges in the summer of 1786, could have been carried out over the whole surface of the State; avoiding the confusion of the five-mile system of the Western Reserve, and the no-system of the Virginia Military District.

We have seen how great was the importance attached to this western territory from the very beginning of our national existence. It required great firmness on the part of our commissioners to hold it against England, France and Spain. It required great wisdom by the Continental Congress to secure it as a national domain, when the most powerful of the States were pressing their claims to it. As soon as there was a probability that these conflicting claims would be settled, the veteran officers of the army turned their eyes to this region as a place of settlement. After the provisional treaty with Great Britain had been made, and before the definitive treaty had been signed, a large number of these army veterans asked Congress to give them their bounty lands in the region between Lake Erie and the Ohio. There were lands for sale in Maine, and in central New York, now so densely populated, but the Ohio country had a stronger attraction for them. Though their application was unsuccessful, they did not abandon their purpose, but three years later, under the leadership of General Rufus Putnam, an association was organized to purchase lands in the same locality.

Meanwhile, a "plan for a temporary government of the western country," as it was then called, had been adopted by Congress, but the plan was open to objection, and when the Ohio Company of Associates, in May, 1787, sent one of their directors to New York to purchase of Congress a tract of land for settlement, a new plan for the government of the territory was under consideration by that body. Indeed, the proposed ordinance had been read twice, and its third reading had been ordered for the next day, when the agent of the company presented himself. "Of a sudden," says Mr. Bancroft, "the further progress of the ordinance was arrested." The third reading did not take place the next day; in truth, that ordinance was never read the third time. It is difficult for us to realize the effect produced on Congress by this simple proposition from a number of army veterans to purchase a large tract of land in the West for the purpose of settlement. In the words of Mr. Bancroft: "It interested every one. For vague hopes of colonization, here stood a

band of hardy pioneers, ready to lead the way to the rapid absorption of the domestic debt of the United States; selected from the choicest regiments of the army; capable of self-defense; the protectors of all who should follow them; men skilled in the labors of the field and artisans; enterprising and laborious; trained in the severe morality and strict orthodoxy of the New England villages of that day. All was changed. There was the same difference as between sending out recruiting officers and giving marching orders to a regular corps present with music and arms and banners."

It was the 9th of May when General Samuel H. Parsons, a director of the Ohio Company, presented their memorial. After the 11th, it happened that there was no quorum till the 4th of July, and General Parsons had returned to Connecticut. On the 5th of July another director came to New York — Manasseh Cutler. He conferred with the committee already appointed on the purchase. He became acquainted with the members of Congress. He looked over the ground as well with reference to the government under which the settlers were to live as to the terms on which the land should be purchased. On the 9th of July the report, which was to have been read the third time on the 10th of May, was referred to a new committee, of which Edward Carrington, of Virginia, was chairman. He was a new member, as was Richard Henry Lee, also of Virginia, and Mr. Kean, from South Carolina. The former members were Mr. Dane, from Massachusetts, and Mr. Smith, from New York. Two days later they reported an ordinance, which was read the first time. The second reading took place the next day, and on the day following it was read the third time, and was passed by the unanimous votes of the States then present. The great statute forbidding slavery to cross the river Ohio was enacted by the votes of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts. Thus the celebrated ordinance of '87 was reported by a committee composed of two members from Virginia, one from South Carolina, one from New York and

one from Massachusetts, and was enacted by the votes of five southern and three northern States.

In his history of the Constitution, Mr. Bancroft turns aside to give a chapter on what he terms "The Colonial System of the United States." The Constitutional Convention was in session at Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, while the Continental Congress was in session at New York. Mr. Bancroft thus opens his chapter: "Before the Federal Convention had referred its resolutions to a committee of detail, an interlude in Congress was shaping the character and destiny of the United States of America. Sublime and humane and eventful in the history of mankind as was the result, it will take not many words to tell how it was brought about. For a time wisdom and peace and justice dwelt among men, and the great ordinance, which could alone give continuance to the Union, came in serenity and stillness. Every man that had a share in it seemed to be led by an invisible hand to do just what was wanted of him; all that was wrongfully undertaken fell to the ground to wither by the wayside; whatever was needed for the happy completion of the mighty work arrived opportunely, and just at the right moment moved into its place."

This "interlude in Congress" was the passage of the ordinance of 1787, which itself was brought about by the projected colonizing of a portion of the Ohio Valley. For some years a plan for the government of the western territory had been on the statute book, as we have seen, but under it no settlement had taken place. Various efforts to improve it had been made, but it remained substantially as it was adopted in 1784. But the application by the Ohio Company to purchase land and plant a colony changed everything. The eloquent language of Mr. Bancroft is none too strong. It was comparatively an easy thing for Manasseh Cutler in July, 1787, to convince the Continental Congress that the colony which the Ohio Associates proposed to found was just what was wanted to begin under the most favorable auspices the settlement of the great region Northwest of the Ohio. Nor was it difficult for him to show that such a

colony would need assurances of a wise, humane and efficient government before planting new homes in that western wilderness. Thus it came that the new committee, appointed after Dr. Cutler reached New York, prepared in an incredibly brief time a new ordinance, than which no other human enactment has received higher commendation.

It is clear that the ordinance, the purchase, and the settlement were parts of one great whole. This invests with dignity and importance the movement resulting in the settlement of 1788. The great ordinance was occasioned by the proposed purchase, and it was enacted for that colony. It was a movement in which the national government and the nation itself were deeply interested. Mr. Bancroft interjects into his history of the Constitution a chapter on "The Colonial System of the United States," but the chapter is wholly occupied with this colony and its antecedent circumstances. No other is mentioned. This was *the* Colonial System of the United States. Most civilized nations have sent out colonies, which have remained colonies. Not so the United States. In 1787 they made ready to send out their first colony; not across the ocean, but across the Ohio; yet into a region as new as if it had been a thousand miles away. It was not to remain a colony, but to be the germ of a State — of many States. Never in the history of the world has such a colony been founded before or since; never one for which such preparation had been made, and from which such great results have come.

Almost a century has completed its round since those army veterans, after a long and tedious journey, landed from their Mayflower at the mouth of the Muskingum. The government which Congress had provided in anticipation was immediately established, the first law for the Northwest Territory having been promulgated at Marietta on the 25th of July. Other groups of immigrants came later; new centers of civilization are established, and within a decade and a half the new State of Ohio takes her place in the great sisterhood, to be followed by two others in another decade and a half, and presently by a fourth and a fifth.

It is fit that the occupation of the territory which had not only been the center of interest to the greatest States of the American Union, but which the most powerful nations of Europe had combined to prevent our occupying; that the planting on the seventh of April, 1788, of the colony for which such preparation had been made and for whose benefit the Continental Congress, with a unanimity unparalleled, had provided a plan of government which has been the admiration of the world — it is fit, I say, that the centennial of that event should receive suitable commemoration, not merely by the descendants of those noble pioneers, but by the citizens of this great State and of all the States of the old Territory of the Northwest.

I. W. Andrews.

THE ORDINANCE OF JULY 13TH, 1787.[1]

THE intrinsic merits of that organic law which was enacted by the old Continental Congress on the 13th of July, 1787, "for the Government of the Territory Northwest of the river Ohio," have been so fully discussed and are so well understood that any attempt in that direction would be little more than a repetition of views already familiar to an intelligent audience. Its merits can now be measured by its fruits. Results are its monument and its highest eulogy.

It is not surprising that as a century is rounded up, the thoughtful inquirer should look back and endeavor to trace the beginnings and look up the extrinsic circumstances as well as personalities that were connected with such an enactment.

So far as organic law is concerned we are sitting under "vines and fig trees," are "eating of the oliveyards and vineyards that we planted not." Who were the planters? Why was the planting done?

In pursuing this inquiry we are met with the difficulty arising from a lack of authentic historic material. One hundred years ago the proceedings of legislative bodies were not kept with that plethora of discussion, and detail of motions, references and reports that distinguish modern Congressional Records. The wasting processes of a century have destroyed valuable family papers, and memories of early actors and listeners have faded out, so that fragments of *fact*, *incident* and *history* must be gathered up and carefully applied. Still the gleaner must be content with a gleaner's share of the harvest.

The passage of the ordinance at the time has one peculiar characteristic that is worthy of notice. That is the leading fact that it stands out in history as an isolated effort on the part of its authors to forecast a complete system of govern-

[1]Read before the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society at its Third Annual Meeting, February 23, 1887.

ment and project it over a vast territory in advance of its actual occupation by future inhabitants. When the Mayflower passengers neared their expected haven of rest, they solemnly agreed to observe certain fundamental principles of a future government; but those principles were not firmly and enduringly fixed upon Massachusetts soil until the Constitution of 1780. It required one hundred and sixty years to reach that advanced stage of free institutions which was foreshadowed by the Mayflower declaration. But the Ordinance of '87 was thrown forward into a wilderness, carrying with it not only organic principles, but embracing the details of a governmental autonomy that has stood the test of a century. This peculiarity is worthy of notice, because the very fact that such an organic law was forecast, pre-arranged, and pre-ordained by competent authority, prior to territorial occupation assists us in the inquiry as to its origin, and helps to explain the fact that it was largely the work of pioneer settlers seeking homes under its protection, rather than of wise statesmen who had no such motive to guide them.

There were two methods by which the progress of civilization moved westward from the Atlantic base. One was by the individual enterprise of the pioneer venturing out either alone or with a few neighbors and taking possession of the wilderness in advance of civil institutions. The other was a thoroughly organized system of occupations, with pre-arranged guaranties of protection based upon law and order and combining all the essential principles upon which our Republic is founded. Now it is necessary to keep distinctly in mind that there was a systematic and well organized *plan* for taking possession of the Ohio Valley and the Northwest in the interest of an advancing Christian civilization, that the men engaged in this effort were not mere land buyers or home seekers, but that from its incipiency the Governmental idea was part of the plan. *They intended to found a State.* This original intendment bore fruit in the Ordinance of July 13th, 1787.

The journals of Congress, although extremely meagre in details present some facts of great value in tracing out the

beginnings of a public policy in regard to the Northwest Territory. Even before its acquisition under the terms of the treaty of peace in 1783 the policy of "independent states" had been announced.

After all claims of particular States had been quieted and it could be treated as common property it became a blank sheet upon which the ideas and policies then prevailing in the old thirteen States could be indelibly stamped. There was a sufficient divergence then as now between the Eastern and Southern States to give rise to controversy. In the land system, range, town and section prevailed against "indiscriminate locations." The transition from extreme colonial and state rights to a centralized power can be traced in connection with this "common property." Social and industrial policies came into conflict. The system of forced labor which had been universal in the colonies laid claim to this new and vast area. Its advocates on every trial of legislative strength had triumphed until it was disposed of finally by the ordinance of July 13, 1787. Subsequent interest in the ordinance itself has been directed largely to the problem that of the eight States voting for it five were slave States and the ordinance contained a positive prohibition of a system of labor which at that time was zealously guarded as the basis of their own prosperity.

The subject was not a new one in Congress. More than once distinct action had been taken, and every slave State had resisted any efforts to exclude slavery from *new territory*. Even a prospective prohibition had been denied when the Resolutions of April 23d, 1784, were adopted. Subsequently a direct anti-slavery amendment was laid over without action and never called up. As late as the 9th of May, 1787, about two months before the passage of the present anti-slavery ordinance, a committee having a majority from the free States reported an ordinance for the government of the Northwest Territory that was silent on that subject, showing plainly enough that all effort at prohibition had been abandoned.

What valid reason then was there that under the leadership of Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia with Delaware

should quietly give up that which they held safely in their own hands, and which had been virtually surrendered to them by their opponents? Why did Virginia lead off in discarding her own institutions and cordially adopt those which prevailed in Massachusetts? Why were New England ideas and policies enduringly stamped upon this vast interior—the very heart of the great Republic—at a time when New England had but one voice out of eight in deciding that result?

I ask your indulgence in an effort to answer these interesting questions.

In the beginning of the Revolutionary struggle Massachusetts was entitled to leadership in the army. She yielded it to Virginia. When Washington came to the front as Commander-in-Chief, that front was in Massachusetts. He was there brought into close personal contact with her citizens and her soldiers. His first success was the evacuation of Boston by the enemy, as a result of the prompt, energetic, and decisive support rendered to his plans by a citizen soldiery. His army was destitute of ammunition and supplies. That want was supplied by the bold privateering of Whipple, Manly, Tucker, and other Yankee seamen. His disasters on Long Island were offset by the skill and daring that saved his army in a retreat requiring water passages which were conducted by the sea-faring men of New England. When driven from the "Jerseys" and forced across the Delaware, he decided upon that bold effort to inspire confidence by an attack upon his enemies in mid-winter; it was Glover's Brigade of Marblehead fishermen that guided his craft through the floating ice of the Delaware on that Christmas night, 1776. That was a service which "land lubbers" could not have performed. In all these trying and difficult scenes he was supported by New England officers and men. Strong attachments were formed. Personal associations resulted in life-long friendships. He could say with the utmost sincerity—"God bless the New England Troops."

But what has all this to do with the first settlement of Ohio, or with the Ordinance of '87?

I make the following extract from a dingy, yellow piece of

manuscript which I find among "old papers," written by an early pioneer to Ohio. The writer says:

"Anterior to this period—the Revolutionary war—it is probable the great body of the American and English people knew about as much about the interior of Asia or Africa, as of this western region. With the exception of General Washington and some other individuals, who, by being engaged in the war, commonly called the French war, were entitled to locate lands on the Ohio, it seems few or none others had the means of obtaining knowledge. We are told that during the Revolutionary struggle the British established a printing press in New York, entitled 'The Rivington Royal Gazette.' At a very dark and gloomy period of that momentous struggle there was a very large number of papers scattered by design, that gave an account of a treaty of subsidy made with the Empress of Russia—the ambitious Catharine—which provided that a large number of Russian troops should be furnished the British for their American contest; that the troops were expected early next season. These papers with this information fell into the hands of the officers of the American army, and of course became a matter of deep solicitude.

At General Washington's table it became a matter of discussion: 'If this be true, and we are driven from the Atlantic seaboard, what then is to be done?' 'We will retire to the Valley of the Ohio,' says Washington, 'and there we will be free.' This saying was carried from the officers to the soldiers, by them to wives, children, and friends, and thus a spirit of enquiry respecting Ohio was elicited."

This fragment of history is taken from the lips of the men who sat at Washington's table and were members of his military family—those old veterans of three wars—the evening of whose days were spent on the banks of the Ohio and Muskingum, and who indulged in a veteran's right of "fighting his battles over again."

This traditional reminiscence finds ample support in statements made by Ramsay in his "History of the American Revolution," published in 1789. After the loss of Fort Washington and the evacuation of New York City, the American forces were driven in hasty retreat across New Jersey and only escaped capture by crossing to the west side of the Delaware river. The period of enlistment of the army had expired. Whole regiments returned homeward. With 2,000 or 3,000 men of a retreating, half-naked army whose unshod feet had marked the frozen soil of Jersey with patriotic blood, the Commander-in-Chief was compelled to look this question of retreat fairly in the face. The historian says:

"Gen'l Washington about this time retreated to Newark. Having abundant reasons from the posture of affairs to count on the necessity of a further retreat he asked Col. Reed: 'Should we retreat to the back part of Pennsylvania will the Pennsylvanians support us?' The Colonel replied: 'If the lower counties are subdued and give up, the back counties will do the same.' The General replied: 'We must retire to Augusta county, Virginia. Numbers will be obliged to repair to us for safety, and we must try what we can do in carrying on a predatory war, and if overpowered we must cross the Allegheny Mountains.'"

From the same historian we have also another fragment of history giving further evidence of the estimation then placed upon the Ohio Valley as a strategic base in the grand struggle for freedom and independence. As soon as the British Cabinet became aware that France was determined to aid the United States they dispatched messengers to this country with overtures of peace, making fair promises and hoping at least to divide the councils and weaken the supports of the cause. These overtures were met by Congress with a positive demand for an acknowledgment of independence or an evacuation of the country as preliminary steps to negotiation.

The following is an extract from a letter dated June 14, 1778, written as part of a private correspondence by Henry Laurens who was then President of the old Continental Congress. He says to the King's Commissioners: "You are undoubtedly acquainted with the only terms upon which Congress can treat for accomplishing this good end. Although writing in a private character, I may venture to assert with great assurance, they never will recede, even admitting the continuance of hostile attempts and that from the rage of war the good people of these States shall be driven to commence a treaty *westward of yonder mountain.*"

But why should Washington point out that distant region as a base to fall back upon in case of defeat? The answer is found in the fact that he had been there. He knew something of its fertility and boundless resources. As early as 1770 he had acquired titles to over 20,000 acres of its choicest

lands. In 1773 he issued proposals for colonizing those lands, offering liberal terms on the old English plan of paying quit rents in lieu of purchase. In a word Washington was a *pioneer* of the *pioneers* to the Ohio Valley. The marks of his "little hatchet" can be still traced upon the first land lines ever run in the valley or west of the Allegheny Mountains. His knowledge of the country thus obtained would be readily accepted by all who were engaged in the war, whether in the army or in Congress.

It is quite evident therefore that Washington knew and his officers knew what he was talking about when he said to Colonel Reed: "*If we are overpowered, we must cross the Allegheny Mountains.*" It is also evident that Henry Laurens understood the situation when he boldly told the British Ministry: "*Let the war rage on,* sooner than accept your insidious offers of a humiliating peace our people will *commence treaty-making westward of yonder mountains.*" While Lord Howe was in possession of Philadelphia he sent out the threat to Washington that he would "*drive him beyond the mountains.*"

Now let us pass from this primitive scene—this real starting point of inquiry as respects that systematic occupation of the Northwest which was the occasion of its organic law—to another period of that intimate intercourse that had grown up between the Commander-in-Chief and his veteran officers. The great conflict was over, the pledge of life, fortune and sacred honor had been redeemed. Peace with the great enemy was assured. But other perils surrounded them. The day for disbanding the army approached. But there were no "greenbacks," no "silver dollars," no "gold coins" with which to meet final payments. Washington applied to Congress. The officers petitioned that body for relief, but its authority did not protect it from insult, and it was a fugitive from the menaces of a squad of unpaid and clamorous troops. The only remedy for the army was to accept certificates of settlement—warrants upon a bankrupt treasury. They called them "*final certificates,*" and they were final to many of the holders, as want and hunger forced them on to the

market at "one in six," as they called it, or one-sixth of par value. These old certificates must be kept in mind, for while they were "*finals*" of a seven years' hard service, we shall see that they were the *beginning* of another and not less important enterprise.

Col. Pickering, their Quartermaster General, thus describes the condition of the Army while at Newburg and New Windsor, waiting for orders to return penniless to their desolate homes. He says: "To hear the complaints of the officers and see the miserable condition of the soldiery is really affecting. It deeply penetrates my inmost soul to see men destitute of clothing, who have risked their lives like brave fellows, having large arrears of pay due them and prodigiously pinched for provisions. It is a melancholy scene." Again he says: "Those brave and deserving soldiers, many of whom have for six years exposed their lives to save their country, who are unhappy enough to have fallen sick, have for a month past been destitute of every comfort of life. The only diet provided for them has been beef and bread—the latter generally *sour.*" Such was the testimony of their Quartermaster, who was most familiar with their condition." In their petition to Congress the officers say: "Our distresses are now brought to a point—*we have borne all that man can bear.* Our property is expended, our private resources are at end, and our friends are wearied out and disgusted with our incessant applications. We therefore most seriously and earnestly beg that a supply of money may be forwarded to the army as soon as possible." (Jour. of Cong., Vol. IV, p. 267.)

To such a state of exasperation were those men brought that one of their number addressed his brother officers in the following terms: "If this then be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defense of America, what have you to expect from peace when your voice shall cease and strength dissipate by division? when those swords, the instruments and companions of your glory shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left you but your wants, infirmities and scars?

Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and returning from the field grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor? If you can—go, and carry with you the jest of Tories, the scorn of Whigs, the ridicule, and what is worse, the pity of the world—go, starve and be forgotten."

Nothing short of a most desperate condition of affairs could have extorted such language from one officer to his fellow officers, all of whom had served faithfully through the war. I have recalled these rugged and unwelcome historical items reluctantly and only because they are necessary in explaining subsequent movements.

But this dark cloud in our country's history had a "silver lining." A bright ray of sunshine broke through the prevailing gloom. Col. Timothy Pickering, the Quartermaster General, at this critical period, writing to a friend under date of April 7th, 1783, says: "But a new plan is in contemplation—no less than the forming of a new State westward of the Ohio. Some of the principal officers are heartily engaged in it. About a week since this matter was set on foot and a plan is digesting for the purpose. Enclosed is a rough draft of some propositions respecting it which are generally approved of. They are in the hands of General Huntington and General Putnam for consideration, amendment and addition." Again April 14th he writes: "General Putnam is warmly engaged in the new planned settlement over the Ohio. He is very desirous of getting Hutchins' map. Mr. Aitken had them to sell. If possible pray forward me one." A petition was drawn up addressed to "His Excellency the President and Honorable Delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled." The petition was signed by 285 officers of the army asking that a "tract of land bounded North on Lake Erie, East on Pennsylvania, South and Southeast on the Ohio river, West on a line beginning on that part of the Ohio which lies twenty-four miles West of the Scioto river, thence running North on a meridian line till it

intersects the River Miami which falls into Lake Erie, thence down the middle of that river to the lake, might by formed nto a distant government or colony of the United States." [1]

They ask that their bounty lands may be assigned to them in this district, and that "provision may be made for a further grant of land to such of the army as wish to become adventurers in the new government, in such quantities and on such conditions of settlement and purchases for public securities as Congress shall judge best for the interest of the intended government and rendering it of lasting consequence to the *American empire.*"

This petition was placed in General Putnam's hands, who addressed a letter to General Washington asking him to present it to Congress. Washington presented it to Congress, urging it upon their attention, and subsequently "exerted every power he was master of" to secure a compliance with the wishes of his associates in the army.

Colonel Pickering drew up a plan for organizing the new government which embraced the following: "The total exclusion of slavery from the State to form an essential and irrevocable part of the Constitution." This was the first distinct proposition for the exclusion of slavery Northwest of the Ohio ever publicly presented or discussed and was a part of the original plan ultimately matured in '87 — four years later. It must be borne in mind that these men were not dealing solely with land purchases or their bounties. They were intent upon a new "State westward of the Ohio." They tried their hands at Constitution-making from the start. Putnam's "letter" outlined a valuable governmental policy in the West. Pickering's "plan" embodied organic principles.

We thus find that the same class of men who ate at Washington's table when the ugly question of surrender or retreat was discussed are again taking counsel together over this "Ohio scheme." *Then* the Ohio was a base for *retreat* — now, for an *advance.* By the failure of Congress to act upon the petition the scheme was delayed but not defeated. The

[1] See page 38 for a copy of the petition and a list of those who signed it.

urgent necessities of the principal movers compelled them to disperse as soon as the army was disbanded and seek employment. Putnam took a contract to survey ten townships for Massachusetts in her province of Maine. General Tupper, another of the signers of the petition, accepted a vacancy made by Putnam's retirement from the United States Surveyors appointed to run out the seven Ranges. But in 1786 they met again. Putnam could say from personal observation of Maine: "That country in general is not fit for cultivation, and when this idea is connected with the climate a man ought to consider himself curst even in this world who is doomed to inhabit there as a cultivator of the lands only." Tupper, returning from a visit to the Ohio in 1785, could say: "The lands in that quarter are of a much better quality than any other known to the New England people; the climate, seasons, products, etc., are in fact equal to the most flattering accounts that have been published of them."

With this addition to their stock of knowledge as to locations, they issued on the 10th day of January, 1786, a paper headed "*Information*," calling a meeting of those who wished to take an interest in the "Ohio scheme" of settlement. This resulted in the organization of the "Ohio Company of Associates" on the 3d day of March following.

This company, composed almost entirely of the officers of the army, decided to make a purchase of as much land in that part of the western country that had been indicated in the officers' petition of '83 as could be paid for with $1,000,000, expecting to use bounty warrants and public securities in payment. This meant the conversion of those old "Final Certificates" into future homes "westward of the Ohio." It also meant the foundation of a "new state." They appointed Gen. Samuel H. Parsons, one of the associates, to apply to Congress for a purchase of lands. He made the application on the 9th of May, but after the 11th there was no quorum till the 4th of July. General Parsons having returned home, another agent, Dr. Manasseh Cutler, was appointed. He reached New York on July 5th, '87, found a quorum of Congress present and set about his work immediately. From a

private journal kept at the time we are able to trace the progress of his efforts and place a fair estimate upon the influences that surrounded the whole subject at that time. The first subject to claim his attention was the organic law that was to govern the future inhabitants of the country he was commissioned to purchase.

That subject had been in the hands of Congress for a long period prior to this application for purchase of lands. The idea of "new states" or "distinct government" was first acted upon in Congressional proceedings on October 10, 1780, although Maryland had called their attention to the subject in May, 1779. Before the war the same idea had matured into a grant not fully consummated by the British crown for establishing a colony west of the Allegheny mountains. The petition of the officers was probably the first subsequent movement in the same direction *outside* of Congress. As the Ohio Company were really consummating the object of that petition it became a part of the duty of their agent to look after the laws and constitution that were to govern the country.

In all this they would be acting in harmony with the known policy of the general government on that subject.

It must be borne in mind that the whole treatment of "vacant territory" at that time was a change from the policy that had generally prevailed among the colonies prior to the war. As a general thing land had not been regarded as a source of revenue to any of the colonies or states. The British crown reserved quit rents and fixed six pence per acre as the measure of revenue. The Virginia plan fixed two cents per acre and threw open her lands to "indiscriminate location." No cash revenue was derived from the lands of Kentucky, Tennessee or West Virginia.

To state the causes that led to the adoption of a different policy by Congress and the steps taken to bring that policy into effective operation would trespass too much upon the time of this occasion; but it is quite obvious that if they expected to treat vacant lands as *property* — as a source of future revenue — it was indispensable to organize a government for

the protection of that property as well as the purchasers. So that when the agent of the Ohio Company went to New York it was just as incumbent on him to look after the organic law as to make terms of purchase.

When he got there Ohio was a wilderness without law. Some surveys had been made under guard of United States troops, but there was no protection to families or property. This view of the matter brings up the strong contrast as to the consideration of an organic law by statesmen and politicians — however wise and justly esteemed in other matters — but who had no expectation of making a personal application of governmental principles, as compared with a body of intelligent, cultivated, refined men and families who expect to "become adventurers," as they termed it; that is to leave all, risk all, endure all that lay before them in that far off and savage country. Members of Congress did not expect to do this. Before this agent of the associates started from home he had engaged over one hundred of his friends and neighbors to go, and he expected at that time to go with them. How did he find matters at New York? Congress was offering to sell some of the seven Ranges, but nothing that could be called a government, suited to the wants even of a pioneer population had been extended over the country. In one form or other the subject had been before them since its first introduction in 1780. More than twenty different members of Congress had been appointed on the various committees that during this long interval had the matter under their supervision. This labor had brought forth the resolutions of April 23d, 1784, and a reported substitute, which had been ordered to a third reading when General Parsons made his application for lands. With some valuable principles they were mere skeletons; incomplete outlines as compared with the Ordinance of July 13th.

By keeping in mind this inchoate state of legislation on the subject and the urgency of motive that controlled the applicants for a land purchase we may estimate the *reason why* an organic law which has commanded universal admiration was promptly matured and unanimously adopted.

In dealing with Congress the agent was sent without limitations or instructions. In fact his own views coincided fully with those of his associates.

In presenting his business before Congress he has left us some records as to the lines of policy upon which he based his application. The following extract from his journal indicates the extent and comprehensiveness of his views. He communicated his plan to Mr. Osgood, President of the Board of Treasury, and we are thus furnished with a contemporaneous estimate of its value. "He (Osgood) highly approved of our plan and told me he thought it the best ever formed in America. He dwelt much on the advantages of system—said system had never before been attempted — that if the matter was pressed with spirit he believed it would prove one of the greatest undertakings ever attempted in America. He thought Congress would do an essential service to the United States if they would give us the land rather than our plan should be defeated, and promised to make every exertion in his power in our favor." Such an estimate from such high authority could only have applied to the organic law as well as the mere purchase of land — the two combined making *the greatest undertaking ever attempted in America.*

Here is an evidence that he understood his mission to be the founding of a future Commonwealth. This accorded fully with the declared policy of Congress as well as the design of the originators of the scheme. The "associates" were nearly all officers of the army — men of experience, intelligence and correct principles — but they selected their agent from another calling in life. True he had served as Chaplain in the army, but his life and labors had been identified and spent with that remarkable class of men known as the "New England" or Puritan clergy. They were as a body remarkable because at that time and previously they exerted a greater influence in shaping the character and giving direction to the active energies of a whole people than any other class of citizens. They had carefully considered and constantly presented to the people the essential principles of

human rights, of personal liberty, of the necessity of obedience to law, in a word all the firm foundations upon which a Republic can stand. As a support to these principles they had organized and maintained a system of popular education, extending from the common school to institutions of highest culture. Their influence over the people resulted from *religious convictions.* That influence flowed from Puritan pulpits and permeated every fiber of social, civil and political life. They were founders and guides of a *people's conscience.* They were not politicians — did not claim to be statesmen. Yet governmental institutions were molded by their precepts.

Ramsay, in his "History of the American Revolution," fully supports this view of the prevailing influence of the clergy at that time. He says, (Vol. I, p. 199), "The clergy of New England were a numerous, learned, and respectable body, who had a great ascendency over the minds of their hearers. They connected religion and patriotism, and their sermons and prayers represented the cause of *America* as the cause of *Heaven.*"

To their influence may be traced those moral and educational principles that are a distinguishing feature of the Constitution of Massachusetts and other New England Commonwealths. It is only a fair inference that one of their number should improve the opportunity to insert the same ideas and policies into an organic law which was to protect his family and neighbors in their future homes.

The agent left his pulpit temporarily to undertake the important service assigned to him. He was compelled to deal with governmental questions — questions too, which Congress had failed satisfactorily to solve. *Land* was of no value to him or his associates without *law.* He was seeking homes for intelligent, cultivated Christian families. If then he acted at all — if he suggested or advised, it must be in a line with his life time covictions. A New England clergyman would not forget or discard that which was equivalent to his own identity -- *his principles.* As a matter of history we find that after his arrival in New York he spent several days in con-

stant intercourse with members of Congress before he entered fully upon negotiations for the purchase of land — that the governmental ordinance was submitted to him — that he suggested changes that were adopted. Giving then a proper weight to these preliminary considerations, his agency in preparing, and procuring the insertion in the Ordinance of July 13th, of Freedom, Civil Rights, Religion, Morality, and Knowledge, which are its distinguishing characteristics, can hardly be questioned. It is well supported by traditional evidences. It is also supported by the fact that in his land purchase subsequently made he secured for the benefit of settlers in each township a section of land for both schools and religion, and two whole townships for a university; and also by his subsequent personal efforts to promote those important objects.

These principles and policies were just the foundation that himself and associates desired upon which to build *their own future homes.*

This much is due to the "truth of history" in throwing light upon a subject that has not been well understood.

It remains to consider some reasons why the views of the agent were so fully and unanimously accepted; why Congress gave promptly all that was asked for.

It was incumbent on him to procure for his constituents, "the associates," the best terms practicable for safely prosecuting their scheme of settlement. But decisions rested with the sovereign power in Congress assembled.

As we look back over the transaction, the prohibition of slavery occupies a prominent place in popular estimation. At that time it may be doubted whether it was entitled to that prominence.

The principal object of the Ohio Company certainly was not to abolish slavery northwest of the river Ohio. It was in their way and they simply brushed it out of their way. They wanted the best principles of civil liberty and social order all supported by morals and education, and they secured them. But they had broader views even than these. They had taken the dimensions of the American Empire.

They regarded the Northwest as its heart. They forecast its immense resources and planned for their future growth and full development. A brief notice of the situation as it then existed is necessary to give proper weight to the reasons that controlled Congress in yielding to the Ohio Company sub stantially all they asked for.

I have traced the connection of Washington with the "Ohio scheme" up to the disbanding of the army. In his farewell address he reminds his companions of their prospects in the West in the following words: "The extensive and fertile regions of the West will yield a most happy competence to those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking for personal independence." (Sparks, Vol. 8, p. 483.)

We have also the positive statement of the Directors of the Ohio Company entered upon their records in the following words: "The path to a competence in this wilderness was pointed out to us by the Commander-in-Chief of the American Army." There can be no doubt therefore that the initial steps of this organized system of settlement of the Northwest, embracing fully, States, governments, laws and constitutions, had been carefully matured as between the New England officers, with whom personal contact had been maintained throughout the war, and their Commander-in-Chief. But there is further evidence of the identity of interest which grew out of those personal associations.

Washington's personal relations and activities to the Ohio Valley had just begun. Immediately on resigning his command of the army he undertook a tour of observation through western New York, evidently with an eye to its commercial advantages, then a six weeks' trip to the Ohio Valley. On his return to Virginia he addressed himself to organizing efficient lines of commercial intercourse between Virginia seaports and the Ohio Valley and the lake region. He sought from General Butler, then Indian Agent, a solution of the problem of water communications between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. He accept the oversight of a chartered company for the improvement of the Potomac. In a long letter to Governor Harrison, of Virginia, he discusses

with great intelligence the true commercial interests of that State as connected with the fertile West and urges action to secure its trade and retain its loyalty to the Union by the "cement of interest."

In a letter to David Humphreys, dated July 25, 1785, he says: "My attention is more immediately engaged in a project which I think *big with great political* as well as *commercial consequence* to the States, especially the middle ones. It is by removing the obstacles and extending inland navigation of our rivers to bring the States on the Atlantic in close connection with those forming to the *westward* by a short and easy transportation." (Sparks, Vol. 9, p. 114.) He thus marks out a national line of policy in regard to internal improvements. All this was an object of vigorous pursuit and of earnest prosecution by Virginia statesmen at the time of the application of the Ohio Company to Congress. In a pamphlet published by Dr. Cutler, after his visit to New York, designed to give information about the West, he discusses the same topics that were engaging Washington's attention. He foretells the use of steamboats on western waters; Washington refers to an invention of Rumsey's for applying mechanical powers to boats. Both discuss the question of *carrying-places* or *portages* between the Atlantic rivers and the Ohio and the Lakes. There is abundant evidence that the productions and commercial values of the great West were at *that time* understood, appreciated and thoroughly canvassed by the intelligent managers of the Ohio Company and by Virginia statesmen. Evidences of this harmony of views and interests can be found in the following sources of information: 1st, the pamphlet prepared by Dr. Cutler in 1787, and his other writings; 2d, a letter addressed by Gen. Putnam to Fisher Ames in 1790, discussing the question whether the West was worth retaining in the Union; 3d, Washington's letter to Governor Harrison, and other letters written by him on that subject after his resignation from the army and prior to his election as President of the United States.

In these papers, all worthy of a place among State docu-

ments, the true situation of the west *at that time*, the views of all parties, their expectations, their plans, the motives that controlled their decisions are all presented and fully discussed. From this hasty sketch it must be evident that when the agent of the Ohio Company appeared before Congress he could look for friendly co-operation from one source outside of any connected with his company. That source was Virginia and Virginia statesmen. I know of no evidence that General Washington exerted any direct influence favorable to the plans of his old military comrades, except as I have already stated, but he was earnestly, ardently engaged in promoting plans that would be greatly enhanced in value by the permanent occupation of the Ohio Valley, adjacent to his own lands, by an industrious, intelligent and enterprising people. His lines of water transit would be of little value without products for a commerce. It is but reasonable to claim that Virginia statesmen were interested in the same way. Accepting then the situation as it then stood, we have an explanation of the fact that the agent went directly to Virginia and "members from the Southward," and placed his business in their hands.

The Carolinas and Georgia might well be supposed to say to Virginia, "This Northwest is too far removed from our borders to make it a matter of essential interest to our States. If you can secure protection to an exposed frontier from Indian depredations; can invite industry and good neighbors; and can control commerce from a vast interior — if the army in this way can receive a benefit we will yield our objection to the prohibition of slavery, and will accept that which promotes your prosperity without injuring us."

When the agent of the associates started on his mission to New York for the purpose of purchasing lands in Ohio he took numerous letters of introduction, and among them, to Carrington, Grayson, and Lee, members of Congress from Virginia, from their old military comrades — Parsons and Putnam — Directors of the Ohio Company. This was like a reunion of old veterans.

The Virginia Congressmen could sympathize with the

wants and wishes of their companions with whom they had served through the great struggle. This accounts for the fact that a new Committee on the Governmental Ordinance was formed with Carrington as chairman, Lee as a member, Grayson being temporarily President of Congress, and at all times a leader in all that pertained to the Western country. He thus alludes to these three Virginia members, "Grayson, R. H. Lee, and Carrington are certainly very warm advocates." "Mr. R. H. Lee assured me he was prepared for one hour's speech, and he hoped for success."

All this looks like a cordial and hearty response to the wishes of old comrades in arms, and that Virginia interests were involved in the result. If we had Lee's "hour's speech," and the tenor of the many conferences held between the agent and "members from the Southward," especially the Virginia delegation, the reasons would be disclosed why *slavery* quietly stepped down and out and gave place to the coming empire of *Religion, Freedom and Knowledge.*

I have thus endeavored to assign to causes known to exist at the time, their proper and legitimate weight in determining questions of great importance as connected with the first settlement of the Northwest and the formation of its organic law.

I do not regard the exclusion of slavery as resulting from a sudden fit of philanthropy or as solely due to personal views on that subject. With the Associates its positive prohibition was a "*sine qua non*"—so also were the principles of civil and religious liberty with the supports of morals, religion and knowledge. The trouble with Congress was that while they had a well defined policy of establishing "new states" —"distinct governments," they failed in providing an organic law suited to the class of men who proposed to occupy the territory. This want was supplied by one who had received the training of that body of men who had a most intelligent view of civil, social, and political rights, who were intimate with the real wants as well as remedies of the masses and had carefully studied the problems of law, order and right, in all their applications. While he availed himself of

all cotemporaneous influences to accomplish his mission, the essential elements that were necessary for the foundations of a commonwealth were at his command, and he managed to throw them forward in advance of occupation over a territory designed for *Christian homes.*

He secured the consent of Virginia and other Southern States for a transfer of New England principles, policies and industrial customs to a new and virgin soil. It was a happy blending of important business interests with correct governmental principles; all combining to secure unanimous approval of a grand result.

By tracing, thus hurriedly and imperfectly, these preliminary steps we are brought to that crisis in our Nation's life that is characterized by Mr. Bancroft in the following language: "Before the Federal Convention (then sitting in Philadelphia) had referred its resolutions to a committee of detail, an interlude in Congress was shaping the character and destiny of the United States of America. Sublime and humane and eventful in the history of mankind as was the result it will not take many words to tell how it was brought about. For a time wisdom and peace dwelt among men and the great Ordinance which could alone give continuance to the Union came in serenity and stillness. Every man that had a share in it seemed to be moved by an invisible hand to do just what was wanted of him; all that was wrongfully undertaken fell by the wayside—whatever was needed for the happy completion of the mighty work arrived opportunely and just at the right time moved into its place." Yes, it came quietly, in "serenity and stillness," for in eight days a problem was solved that had occupied the attention of Congress for eight preceding years.[1]

From this view of the personal influences and extrinsic circumstances that surrounded the beginnings of our Organic

[1] On the 2d of May, 1779, the Delegates from the State of Maryland received instructions that were entered upon the journals of Congress, claiming that "the unsettled country if wrested from the common enemy by the blood and treasure of the Thirteen States should be considered as common property, subject to be parceled out by Congress into free, convenient and independent governments in such manner and at such times as the wisdom of that Assembly shall direct."

Law, we may turn for a moment to one of its important characteristics that was shaped by those surroundings.

The articles of the old Confederation were little more than a treaty between thirteen independent States, and were formed to meet the exigencies of the contest with the mother country. The weak point was the inability of Congress to enforce taxation as a basis of "*public credit.*" This weakness very early drove them to the vast real estate contained within the bounds of the Territory Northwest of the River Ohio, as a basis for a credit resting upon common property, that could be used for common benefit. In very many different resolves and reports "vacant territory" or the "back country" is referred to in this light. The numerous appeals made to the States to surrender all claims, so that the title might rest absolutely in the United States, rested upon this ground. As early as September 5th, 1782, a proposition was submitted to regard these lands as a means of paying the "debts of these States." Mr. Witherspoon moved an amendment so as to use the words "*National debt*" instead of the "debts of these States." With the claim of common proprietorship grew up the theory of unity of control, or a complete sovereignty, vested in the United States in Congress assembled over the territory, both as property to be disposed of for common benefit, and as territory to be governed by a supreme power. Witherspoon threw, as it were, a mustard seed of *nationality* into the virgin soil of our institutions.

On the 24th of April, 1783, Madison, Ellsworth, and Hamilton, in a report, refer to the "national debt," and state their reliance for its extinguishment to be "vacant territory." On the 13th of September, 1783, Mr. Carroll, of Maryland, offered a proposition asserting that "the United States have succeeded to the sovereignty over the Western territory, and are thereby vested as one undivided and independent Nation, with all and every power and right exercised by the King of Great Britain over said Territory." This sounds like a *declaration of Nationality.*

On the 5th of April, 1784, a grand committee of one from

each State report, "that Congress still consider vacant territory a capital resource, and this too is the time when our Confederacy, with all the territory included within its limits, should assume its ultimate and permanent form." When the resolutions of April 23d, 1783, were under consideration, Mr. Reed, of South Carolina, offered a proposition that the settlers should be governed by magistrates appointed by Congress and under laws and regulations as "Congress *shall direct.*"

None of the above propositions were adopted by Congress. They only show that there was a *sentiment* of *nationality*, and that it gathered around the Northwest Territory.

It was a plant of slow growth. The Land Ordinance of May 20th, 1785, distinctly recognized a separate ownership of each State in the western lands, and provided that most of the deeds to purchasers should be made by loan officers of the several States, and the purchase money paid to them. The resolutions of April 23d, 1784, contained a very feeble assertion of the absolute right of the United States to govern the inhabitants of the territory; but the Ohio Company went directly to the United States in Congress assembled, made their purchase of land from the Board of the Treasury, and on final settlement took their deed from George Washington, President. This was the first complete assertion of sovereignty by the United States over the "vacant territory" *as property*. The same is true as regards the governmental Ordinance. The reasons for this must be found in the peculiar wants, views, and policy of the Ohio Company in dealing with Congress. They could not carry out their plan by buying in the seven ranges, because in that case they must deal with thirteen different owners and accept alternate townships or sections of land. They wanted a tract about equal in amount to all the seven ranges, and they wanted it in a compact form.

Then again their views of Governmental principles were not satisfied with anything short of a supreme authority so lodged and regulated as to command *obedience to law*. They wanted *order* as well as *law*. At that time the authority of

the Confederacy sat very lightly upon the pioneer settlers who had pushed their fortunes into the great west.

Washington said to Governor Harrison of Virginia: "The West stands, as it were, on a pivot — the touch of a feather may turn it any way." The views of the Ohio Company were very positive on this subject. Dr. Cutler makes this entry in his journal during his negotiations with Congress: "The uneasiness of the Kentucky people with respect to the Mississippi was notorious. A revolt of that country from the Union if a war with Spain took place was universally acknowledged to be highly probable; and most certainly a systematic settlement in that country, conducted by men strongly attached to the Federal Government and composed of young, robust, hardy and active laborers who had no idea of any other than the Federal Government, I conceived to be an object worthy of some attention." General Putnam subsequently discussed very fully with Fisher Ames the question: "Can we retain the West in the Union?" and asks only protection to ensure its loyalty. The Associates had no idea of any other than the Federal Government, but they wanted that Government to assert its sovereign rights in an Organic Law that would protect them from any wild scheme of disunion that might be sprung upon them.

There is abundant evidence that the location at the right time and at the true strategic point of such a body of true and loyal men, with whom Washington's wishes and policies were law, had much to do with controlling and defeating incipient steps toward disunion, in turning the "pivot" in the right direction. With these views on the part of the associates it was essential to them that the Organic Law should assert those rights and powers that are national in their character. The company, through their agent, pledged a full support to governmental authority in advance. The result shows that both as regards land as property, and territory as the subject of supreme governmental authority, there was in connection with this transaction as full an assertion of nationality as circumstances would permit. All this was really out-

side of any distinct authority conferred upon Congress by the articles of Confederation.

In that transition period from a jealous adherence to state rights to a full acceptance of national sovereignty, this was an important step taken in advance of the fully matured assertion of the same principle in the Constitution. The influence of this advanced step in deciding the formation and adoption by the States of the Nation's organic law cannot be traced with accuracy, but the men who secured from Congress this assertion of power outside of the articles of the Confederation were all ardent friends of the Constitution — then in process of formation — and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the land sale with the governmental Ordinance had an influence in the right direction. Eight States were committed to the principle of nationality, and a large and influential body of citizens were thus pledged to its support.[1]

Another feature of the Ordinance is worthy of notice as connected with Dr. Cutler's negotiation for a large purchase of land.

The Ohio Company had no charter, although it was the intention of its originators to procure an act of incorporation from one of the States or from Congress. The land purchase was therefore a *private contract.* The following provision in the Ordinance may be regarded as a full equivalent for a public charter: "That no law ought ever to be made or have force

[1] The following is an extract from a letter written by Richard Henry Lee to General Washington, dated July 15th, 1787, two days after the passage of the Ordinance. He says: "I have the honor to enclose to you an ordinance that we have just passed in Congress, for establishing a temporary government beyond the Ohio, as a measure preparatory to the sale of lands. It seems necessary, for the security of property among uninformed and perhaps licentious people, as the greater part of them who go there are, that a strong-toned government should exist, and the right of property be clearly defined." Mr. R. H. Lee was Dr. Cutler's friend, who promised an "hour's speech" to aid him. It is quite evident that a "strong-toned government" for the west was fresh in his mind two days after the passage of the Ordinance. He assigns the "uninformed and perhaps licentious" character of the people as a reason for such a government — referring to settlers already there — not to Dr. Cutler's proposed band of emigrants. Dr. Cutler refers in his Journal to the same uneasy condition of Western affairs and proposes as a remedy a colony of men of a different character and who were strongly attached to the Federal Government. This coincidence of views between Mr. Lee, who undoubtedly represented the prevailing view in Congress, and the agent of the Ohio Company shows clearly enough that a "*strong-toned government*" grew out of this systematic plan of settlement.

in said Territory that shall in any manner whatever interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements *bona fide* and without fraud previously formed."

That Dr. Cutler regarded his land purchase as a *private contract* is very evident from an entry in his Journal, Oct. 26, 1787, when he paid over $500,000 to the Board of Treasury. He says it was "the greatest private contract ever made in America."

Mr. R. H. Lee refers to the Ordinance, "as a measure preparatory to the sale of lands. It seemed necessary for the security of property * * that a strong temporal government should exist and the rights of property be clearly defined."

The strong presumption is that this valuable provision as well as others relating to "rights of property" were suggested by Dr. Cutler as a protection to his property in the absence of a charter.

I have thus hastily passed over the ground from which sprung the elements of the first settlement of Ohio and the Northwest, and have assigned reasons why some of the distinctive features of the Ordinance of '87 were inserted. I have done this solely in the interest of the *truth of history* — not to advance claims unsupported by facts — but to award to every actor in the important labors of that primitive period his full and just credit for work so well done.

It may be claimed that the true thread of history may be traced in the course of that "Providence that guides our ways," and *our nation's ways*, "rough hew them as we may," beginning with the early knowledge of the Ohio Valley obtained by the man who, as Commander-in-Chief, was detached from his native associations, thrown early in the Revolutionary struggle with New England men, imparting to them his own observations, then pointing out to them a "competence" in the western "wilderness," as an alternative to the humiliations of poverty, that he undertook on behalf of his native State a broad and comprehensive scheme of internal improvements, resting upon Virginia seaports as one terminus, and covering the Ohio Valley, the Lakes and the Northwest, com-

bining the highest motives of patriotism with a most intelligent appreciation of commercial results. That there was in all this a perfect harmony of interests, a coincidence of views, a co-operation of effort as between Virginia statesmen and the Ohio Company that readily accounts for the unanimity of consent in accepting freedom and discarding slavery. It is also evident that the religious, moral and educational forces that for a previous century had been growing strong, resolute and well prepared for activity and most important service in New England, were skillfully and successfully transferred to this Western Empire by that organized and systematic method of settlement which marked its beginnings on the banks of the Muskingum on the 7th of April, 1788. Massachusetts and Virginia joined holy wedlock and Ohio was their first born. The ordinance was the child's cradle. All this looks like a chapter in the "*Romance of History.*"

It will thus be seen that *Ohio* was a star of Hope among the gloomy camp fires of Valley Forge; that the "*new State westward of the Ohio*" was a broad streak of sunshine in that dark hour of poverty, discontent and dissolution at the close of the great struggle; that an intelligent and systematic plan of planting a *new State* in perfect harmony with the policy of Congress was wisely and well matured; that cordial approval of its organic principles resulted from full equivalents to those who held the power to make decisions; that in all this there was a kindly co-operation growing out of personal associations; that a good degree of harmony as between the North and South then existed, resulting in concessions for the common good; that patriotism was the rule, and local jealousy the exception; that organic foundations were laid broad enough and strong enough to bear up the fabric of an Empire.

Standing here, as we do, upon a century's summit, looking back with reverent gratitude upon the work of its founders, we may gather in as historical results, that the 12,000,000 of people composing the five great Commonwealths now quietly dwelling upon what then was the wild surface of that old "vacant territory," may claim for themselves and their

pioneer fathers, that in all the slow and tedious processes of building up, in cherishing organic ideas and giving them vitality, in supporting their Nation and moulding its character, in defending its life in time of extremest dangers, they have borne their full share of patriotic service, and may now pass that nation over, with a clean record to posterity, sending its ideas and principles onward in their mighty mission of dominion from sea to sea, and from yonder beautiful river (Ohio) to the ends of the earth.

WM. P. CUTLER.

ORIGIN OF THE OHIO COMPANY.

PETITION OF OFFICERS IN THE CONTINENTAL LINE OF THE ARMY.

[NOTE.—This valuable historical document, referred to in the foregoing paper by Mr. Cutler, has often been printed, but frequently in an imperfect form. The names of the petitioners, though referred to by historical writers, have never before been published, and are here printed in the belief that the list will be interesting and valuable, not only to residents of Ohio, but to all citizens of the Northwest.

The list of petitioners here given was copied from one in the hand-writing of General Putnam, in the library of Marietta College, and was then carefully compared by Dr. Andrews, of the Editorial Committee, with his certified copy of the original names in the State Department at Washington.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.]

THE original contract made by the Ohio Company with Congress was for 1,500,000 acres, for which they paid down as closing the contract $500,000. For various reasons they found it impossible to make up the remaining moiety of the same amount. In 1792, Dr. Cutler and General Putnam were authorized by the Company to effect a settlement with Congress and secure a title to the lands already paid for. The matter was referred to a Committee of the House, who, in their report, say:

"The said Ohio Company laid its foundation in an application to the United States in Congress assembled by the officers of the late army, a copy of which marked number 1 is herewith presented to the House." We are thus enabled to trace to a true historic basis the beginnings of that organized and systematic plan of settlement which was consummated at Marietta, April 7th, 1788. This document number 1, referred to as to the "foundation" of the "Ohio Company," is in the following words:

"*To His Excellency the President, and Honorable Delegates of the United States of America in Congress Assembled:*

"The Petition of the subscribers, Officers in the Continental Line of the Army *Humbly Showeth*

"That by a Resolution of the Honorable Congress passed September 20th, 1776, and other subsequent resolves, the Officers (and Soldiers engaged for the War) of the American Army, who shall continue in service till the establishment of *Peace* or in case of their dying in service, their heirs are entitled to receive certain Grants of Lands according to their several grades to be procured for them at the expense of the United States.

"That your petitioners are informed that the tract of country bounded north on Lake *Erie*, east on *Pennsylvania*, southeast and south on the river *Ohio*, west on a line beginning at that part of the *Ohio* which lies twenty-four miles west of the mouth of the river *Scioto*, thence running north on a meridian line till it intersects the river *Miami* which falls into Lake *Erie*, thence down the middle of that river to the lake, is a tract of country not claimed as the property of, or within the jurisdiction of any particular State in the Union.

"That this country is of sufficient extent, the land of such quality, and situation such as may induce Congress to assign and mark it out as a Tract or Territory suitable to form a distinct Government (or Colony of the United States) in time to be admitted *one* of the confederated States of America.

"Wherefore your petitioners pray, that, whenever the Honorable Congress shall be pleased to procure the aforesaid Lands of the natives, they will make provision for the location and survey of the lands to which we are entitled within the aforesaid District; and also for all Officers and Soldiers who wish to take up their lands in that quarter.

"That provision also be made for a further grant of lands to such of the Army as may wish to become adventurers in the new Government, in such quantities and on such conditions of settlement and purchases for public securities, as Congress shall judge most for the interest of the intended government, and rendering it of lasting consequence to the *American Empire*.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound shall ever pray.

"*June* 16, 1783.

NAME.	RANK.	STATE.
John Greaton	Brig. Genl.	Mass.
Elias Dayton	Brig. Genl.	Jersey.
R. Putnam	Brig. Genl.	Mass.
H. Jackson	Col., 4th Reg	"
David Cobb	Lt. Col., 5th Reg	"
Saumel Mellish	Lt., 3d Reg	"
Benj. Tupper	Col., 6th Reg	"
Wm. Hull	Lt. Col., 6th Reg	"
Moses Ashley	Major, 6th Reg	"
Japheth Daniels	Capt., 6th Reg	"
Eben Smith	Capt., 6th Reg	"
Benj. Haywood	Capt., 6th Reg	"
Samuel Frost	Capt., 6th Reg	"
John Holden	Lt., 6th Reg	"
Jos. Miller	Lt., 6th Reg	"
Jos. Balcom	Lt., 6th Reg	"
Jedr. Rawson	Ensign, 6th Reg	"
Ebenr. Ballentine	Sur. Mate, 6th Reg	"
A. Morrill	Major	N. Hamp.
Peter Clayes	Capt., 6th Reg	Mass.
Ephraim Emery	Lt., 6th Reg	"
Josiah Smith	Lt., 6th Reg	"
A. Tupper	Lt., 6th Reg	"
J. Wales	Lt., 6th Reg	"
Andrew Garrett	Lt., 6th Reg	"
Elisha Foster	Ensign, 6th Reg	"
Asa Graves	Ensign, 6th Reg	"
Elisha Horton	Ensign, 6th Reg	"
Jeremiah Lord	Ensign, 6th Reg	"
Sam'l Leslie Scammell	Ensign, 6th Reg	"
Nathan Goodale	Capt., 5th Reg	"
James B. Finley	Surgeon, 5th Reg	"
Ralph F. Bowles	Lt., 1st Reg	"
Benj. Pierce	Lt., 1st Reg	"
Joseph Williams	Capt., 3d Reg	"
Samuel Whitwell	Surgeon, 3d Reg	"
Tertius Taylor	Lt., 1st Reg	"

NAME.	RANK.	STATE.
John K. Smith	Capt., 6th Reg.	Mass.
Jesse Hollister	Capt., 1st Reg	"
John Mills	Capt., 1st Reg	"
John Stark	Brig. Gen.	Hamp'ire.
Wm. Scott	Major	"
Benj. Tallmadge	Major, 2d R'g Lt. Drag.	Conn.
Elijah Wadsworth	Capt., 2d R'g Lt. Drag.	"
Simeon Jackson	Capt., 6th Reg.	Mass.
Aaron Ogden	Capt	Jersey.
Samuel Reading	Major	"
Jonathan Holmes	Capt	"
Cyrus D. Hart	Capt	"
Edmund D. Thomas	Lt.	"
Abraham Appleton	Lt.	"
L—— Dalsey	Lt. and Adjt.	"
John Peck	Lt	"
Wm. Shute	Ensign	"
Samuel M. Shute	Lt.	"
Jos. Buck	Lt.	"
Samuel Hendry	Capt.	"
Ben't Osmun	Lt.	"
Moses Sproule	Ensign	"
Jno. Reed	Lt.	"
Frank Luce	Ensign	"
Wessel T. Stout	Lt.	"
John Bishop	Ensign	"
Wm. Tuttle	Ensign	"
George Walker	Lt.	"
Wm. Kersey	Lt.	"
John Ruecastle	Lt.	"
Ebenezer Elmer	Surgeon	"
Alexander Mitchell,	Capt.	"
John Blair	Lt. and Pay M.	"
Wm. Helms	Capt.	"
Samuel Conn	Lt.	"
Abner Brooks	Ensign	"
John Holmes	Capt.	"

NAME.	RANK.	STATE.
Wm. Piatt	Capt.	Jersey.
Absalom Bonham	Lt.	"
Jacob Hyer	Ensign.	"
Eph. Whitlock	Lt. Adjt	"
Rich'd Cox	Major.	"
Thos. Lansdale	Major.	Maryland.
Walker Muse	Capt.	"
Horatio Clagett	Capt.	"
E. Spurrier	Capt.	"
Thos. Bowie	Lt.	"
Wm. Bruce	Capt.	"
John Sears	Lt.	"
Henry H. Chapman	Ensign	"
Robt. Halkerston	Lt.	"
Ezekiel Haynie	Surgeon	"
Wm. Watts	S. Mate.	"
Walter Dyer	Lt.	"
Jno. Hartshorn	Lt.	"
Ivory Holland	Lt., 5th Reg.	Mass.
Joseph Smith	Lt., 5th Reg.	"
Pelatiah Everett	Lt., 5th Reg.	"
Sylvenus Smith	Capt., 5th Reg.	"
Park Holland	Lt., 5th Reg.	"
Samuel Finley	Surgeon, 7th Reg.	"
J. Farwell	Capt.	Hamp.
Archibald Stark	Lt.	"
Joseph Mills	Lt.	"
Caleb Stark	Lt. A. D.-Camp	"
Ebenr. Stockton	Surgeon.	"
Jonathan Perkins	Lt.	"
Benj. Ellis	Capt.	"
Josiah Munro	Capt.	"
J. Boynton	Lt. and Adjt.	"
Nathan Weare	Lt.	"
Oliver Baron	Lt.	"
Bezaleel Howe	Lt.	"
Robt. B. Wilkins	Lt.	"

NAME.	RANK.	STATE.
J. Cilley	Lt.	Hamp.
Daniel Livermore	Capt.	"
David Allen	S. Mate	"
Moody Dustin	Capt.	"
Jere Fogg	Capt.	"
David McGregore	Capt.	"
W. M. Bell	Capt.	"
John Dennett	Capt.	"
Samuel Cherry	Capt.	"
Lemuel B. Mason	Lt.	"
Joshua Merrow	Lt.	"
Caleb Robinson	Major	"
James Carr	Major	"
Joseph Potter	Capt.	"
Israel Evans	Chaplain	"
Henry Adams	Surgeon, 6th Reg.	Mass.
Ezra Newhall	Lt. Col.	"
N. Rice	Major	"
John Blanchard	Capt.	"
Simeon Larned	Capt.	"
Wm. Moore	Capt.	"
D. Holbrook	Capt., 4th Reg	"
Joel Pratt	Lt., 4th Reg.	"
John Davis	Lt., 4th Reg.	"
Oliver Rice	Lt., 4th Reg.	"
Robert Williams	Lt., 4th Reg.	"
Africa Hamlin	Lt., 4th Reg.	"
Wm. Shepard	Ens., 4th Reg.	"
R. S. Howe	Ens., 4th Reg.	"
Moses Knap	Major, 5th Reg	"
Joshua Benson	Capt., 5th Reg.	"
Samuel Chapin	Lt., 4th Reg.	"
George Reid	Lt. Col. Com'dt	Hamp.
Billy Porter	Major, 7th Reg.	Mass.
T. Turner	Capt., 7th Reg	"
Rufus Lincoln	Capt., 7th Reg.	"
W. Mills	Capt., 7th Reg.	"

NAME.	RANK.	STATE.
Z. King	Capt., 7th Reg.	Mass.
Gam. Bradford	Lt., 7th Reg.	"
Luke Day	Capt., 7th Reg.	"
Wm. McKendry	Lt., 7th Reg.	"
James Sawyer	Ens., 7th Reg	"
George Beale	Lt., 7th Reg.	"
Isaac G. Graham	S. Mate, 7th Reg.	"
Azariah Egleston	Lt., 1st Reg.	"
Ephraim Hunt	Lt., 4th Reg	"
John Williams	Capt., 1st Reg.	"
Fredrick Frye	Ens., 1st Reg.	"
Nath'l Cushing	Capt., 1st Reg.	"
Eben Brown	Lt., 1st Reg.	"
Benj. Wells	Lt., 1st Reg.	"
C. Marshall	Capt., 1st Reg.	"
Ben. Morgan	S. Mate, 1st Reg.	"
Daniel Lunt	Capt., 1st Reg.	"
Joseph Fish	Surgeon, 1st Reg.	"
Adl. Warner	Lt., 1st Reg.	"
Benj. Jones Porter	Sur., 4th Reg.	"
Daniel Shute	Surgeon, 4th Reg.	"
Elijah Vose	Lt. Col., 1st Reg.	"
Lem. Trescott	Major, 7th Reg.	"
Abraham Williams	Capt., 2d Reg.	"
Wm. Torrey	Lt. and Adj., 2d Reg.	"
Hezekiah Ripley	Lt., 2d Reg	"
Wm. Taylor	Lt., 2d Reg.	"
Silas Morton	Lt., 2d Reg.	"
Samuel Myrrick	Lt., 2d Reg.	"
Jacob Leonard	Ens., 2d Reg.	"
M. G. Houdin	Capt., 5th Reg.	"
Joseph Killam	Capt., 5th Reg.	"
Wm. Eysendeau	Lt., 5th Reg.	"
Marlbry Turner	Lt., 5th Reg.	"
Nathan Leavenworth	S. Mate, 8th Reg	"
John Hart	Surgeon, 2d Reg.	"
Joshua Danforth	Lt., 2d Reg.	"

NAME.	RANK.	STATE.
John Warren	Lt., 5th Reg.	Mass.
Alexander Oliver	Ens., 5th Reg	"
Jonathan Wing	Ens., 5th Reg	"
John Burnard	Major, 5th Reg	"
Benj. Gilbert	Lt., 5th Reg.	"
Moses Carleton	Lt., 5th Reg.	"
Zibeon Hooker	Lt., 5th Reg.	"
Daniel McCay	Ens., 5th Reg	"
Jonathan Felt	Capt., 5th Reg.	"
John Yeomans	Lt., 4th Reg.	"
Isaac Frye.	Capt.	Hamp.
Asa Sinter	Capt.	"
John Paterson	Brig. Genl.	Mass.
J. Brooks	Lt. Col. Com't 7th Reg.	"
Caleb Clap	Capt., 4th Reg.	"
Levi Holden	Capt., 6th Reg.	"
J. Huntington	Brig. Genl.	Conn't.
Heman Swift	Col., 2d Reg.	"
Jos. A Wright	Major, 3d Reg.	"
Eben Gray	Lt. Col., 3d Reg.	"
Leml. Clift	Capt., 1st Reg.	"
Nathan Beers	Lt. and P. M., 3d Reg.	"
Ebenr. Frothingham	Lt. and Q. M., 3d Reg.	"
John Rose	Surgeon, 3d Reg.	"
Joseph Clark	Ens., 3d Reg.	"
Eneas Munson	S. Mate, 3d Reg.	"
Aaron Keeler	Ens., 3d Reg.	"
John Hobart	Lt., 3d Reg.	"
Wm. Linn	Lt., 3d Reg	"
Stephen Betts	Capt., 3d Reg	"
Roger Wells	Capt., 3d Reg.	"
Abner Cole	Ens., 3d Reg.	"
Daniel Bradley	Lt., 3d Reg.	"
Jacques Harmon	Ens., 3d Reg.	"
Ezra Selden	Capt., 3d Reg	"
Samuel Hait	Lt., 3d Reg	"
Richard Douglass	Capt., 3d Reg	"

NAME.	RANK.	STATE.
Joshua Whitney	Lt., 3d Reg	Connec't.
John Trowbridge	Lt., 3d Reg	"
George Cotton	Ens., 1st Reg.	"
Hezekiah Hubbard	Lt., 1st Reg	"
Joshua Knapp	Ens., 1st Reg	"
Eben Wales	Lt., 1st Reg	"
Reuben Sanderson	Lt., 1st Reg	"
Silas Goodell	Lt., 1st Reg	"
O. Goodrich	Ens., 1st Reg	"
Wm. Higgins	Lt. and Q. M., 1st Reg.	"
John Noyes	Surgeon, 1st Reg	"
Pownall Deming	Lt., 1st Reg	"
Wm. Walmsley	Ens., 1st Reg	"
John H. Buell	Capt., 1st Reg	"
Wm. Judd	Capt., 3d Reg	"
Charles Miller	Lt., 1st Reg	"
Libburt Loomis	Lt. and Adj., 1st Reg.	"
Charles Fanning	Lt. and P. M	"
Samuel B. Webb	Col., 3d Reg	"
Daniel McLane	Lt., Artillery	Mass.
H. Knox	Maj. Gen	"
John Crane	Col., Artillery	"
Wm. Perkins	Major, Artillery	"
John Liswell	Lt., Artillery	"
Charles Knowles	Capt,, Artillery	"
Florence Crowley	Lt., Artillery	"
Nathaniel Donnell	Capt., Artillery	"
James Hall	Capt., Lt. Artillery	"
Thomas Vose	Capt., Artillery	"
Abijah Hammond	Lt., Lt. Artillery	"
Wm. Moor	Lt., Artillery	"
John Callender	Capt., Lt. Artillery	"
Samuel Cooper	Lt. and Adj., Artillery	"
John Doughty	Capt., Artillery	N. York.
Eben Huntington	Lt. Col., 1st Reg	Conn't.
Nath. Holbrook	Lt	Mass.
Reuben Lilley	Lt	"

NAME.	RANK.	STATE.
Eben Sproat	Lt. Col. Com't, 2d Reg.	Mass.
Jacob Town	Lt., 2d Reg	"
Cornelius Lyman	Ens., 2d Reg	"
R. Bradford	Capt., 2d Reg	"
Jotham Ames	Lt., 2d Reg	"
John Hurd	Ens., 2d Reg	"
Robt. Oliver	Major, 2 l Reg	"
Robt. Walker	Capt., 2d Reg	"
J. Hill	Lt., 2d Reg	"
N. Thaacher	Lt., 6th Reg	"
John Whiting	Lt., 2d Reg	"
Hugh Maxwell	Lt. Col., 8th Reg	"
Silas Peirce	Capt., 8th Reg	"
Thos. Foster	Lt , 8th Reg	"
Edward White	Lt., 8th Reg	"
Joseph Crook	Lt., 6th Reg	"
Joseph Leland	Lt., 8th Reg	"
Wm. Hildreth	Lt., 8th Reg	"
Francis Tufts	Lt. and Adj., 8th Reg	"
James Bancroft	Lt., 8th Reg	"
Jeduthun Baldwin	Col., Engineers	"
Edward Phelon	Lt., 4th Reg	"
David Humphrys	Lt. Col	Conn't.
J. Trumbull	Lt. Col., Sec. to the Commander in Chief	"
W. Barber	Major and Asst. Ins. N. Army	Jersey.
W. Colfax	Capt., 2d Reg	Conn't.

Of the above names 155 are from Massachusetts.
34 are from N. Hampshire.
46 are from Connecticut.

235 are from New England States.
36 are from N. Jersey.
13 are from Maryland.
1 is from New York.

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HENRY B. CURTIS.

A MEMORIAL ADDRESS.[1]

At the re-organization of this Society in March, 1885, Hon. Henry B. Curtis, of Mt. Vernon, was elected as its First Vice President.

It is now our sad duty formally to announce the death of Mr. Curtis, which occurred on the fifth day of last November at the residence of his grand-daughter, Mrs. Charles D. Seeberger, in the City of Chicago, Ill., where he was stopping for a few days on his way home from a business trip farther West.

Upon this occasion it is eminently fit that we should briefly bring to mind the life, character and public services of our deceased friend and associate.

Mr. Curtis was born near the village of Champlain on the west side of Lake Champlain, New York, November 28th, 1799, just two weeks before the death of George Washington.

His parents, Zarah Curtis and Phalley Yale Curtis, were natives of Connecticut—his father a soldier in the Revolutionary War.

In 1809 the Curtis family removed to Newark, Ohio—then but a small hamlet of fifty or sixty rude houses, mostly log cabins—and a few years later took up their residence upon a farm near by on the south fork of Licking River, where they continued to reside when Henry left home, at the age of seventeen years, to join his older brother, Hosmer, who was then a practicing lawyer at Mount Vernon in Knox county. At this time, notwithstanding the meager facilities for an education incident to the frontier,—and the duties of farm life in a new and heavily timbered country—he had, by the same unceasing industry that characterized his after life, acquired an English education, then considered quite liberal, and some knowledge of the classics. With this preparation for the

[1]Delivered February 18th, 1886, before the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, of which Mr. Curtis was First Vice President.

duties of life and with but twenty five cents in money he took up his abode in the place destined to be his home for nearly seventy years.

Through the influence of his brother he obtained employment in the office of the Clerk of the Knox County Courts where his industry and aptness soon secured him the official appointment of "Deputy Clerk." This position brought him into friendly contact with many of the prominent lawyers of Central Ohio, among whom may be mentioned Thomas Ewing, William Stanberry and Charles R. Sherman, for it will be remembered that in those days lawyers of ability and reputation were in the habit of traveling from county to county over what was termed a circuit.

Thus familiarized with the records and proceedings of the courts and inspired with an admiration of the profession, young Curtis resolved to make the study and practice of law the business of his life. He studied law in the office of his brother Hosmer, and was admitted to the bar on the twenty-second day of December, 1822, Judge Hitchcock of the Supreme Court administering the oath to him.

While yet a student he was unanimously appointed by the four judges of the Common Pleas Court, Recorder of the county, a position he continued to hold for over seven years —a most excellent evidence of the kindly estimation in which he was then held.

On the second of July following his admission to the bar he married Miss Elizabeth Hogg, daughter of Percival Hogg of Mount Pleasant, Jefferson county, Ohio. Mrs. Curtis died July 17th, 1878.

With a mind naturally adapted to the profession and well stored with legal lore, and aided by the acquaintance and experience acquired in the offices of Clerk and Recorder, Mr. Curtis soon attained, by diligent attention and thorough preparation of his cases, a large and profitable practice, extending over several counties and to the courts of highest resort in the State. Prominent among the resident lawyers practicing in Knox county cotemporary with Mr. Curtis were John W. Warden, Benjamin S. Brown, Columbus De-

lano and, later, Judge Rollin C. Hurd and John K. Miller, while among the non-resident lawyers whom he was in the habit of meeting in those days were Thomas Ewing, the Stanberrys and the Hunters. Of all these early cotemporaries of Mr. Curtis, Columbus Delano alone survives.

Among the many evidences of the high standing of Mr. Curtis with those who knew him best it is proper to refer to the fact that early in his professional career he was appointed by the Supreme Court as Commissioner and Receiver of the affairs of the "Owl Creek Bank" of Mount Vernon, an unfortunate institution of considerable local notoriety owing to the great number of persons involved financially in its downfall and the apparently inextricable labyrinth of complications in which its members had become involved by litigation and otherwise. This entanglement was all unraveled by him and the rights and liabilities of the numerous parties adjusted upon acknowledged principles of equity and justice and acquiesced in by all. After having prosecuted the practice of the law for a period of time and with a degree of success both in honor and the acquisition of this world's goods attained by but few, in December, 1872, Mr. Curtis celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his admission to the bar by a banquet at his home, "Round Hill," to the resident members of the profession and a few of his older friends. Upon this occasion he announced that he would decline all new retainers and thereafter devote his attention to his own private business. In fact for many years the extent and diversity of his property and business interests have been so great that no person with less of energy or method could have managed them as he did.

The veneration and esteem accorded to him by the members of his profession can not be better or more appropriately expressed than by quoting from memoirs and addresses already expressed in public by his associates. In a paper by Hon. Frank H. Hurd the writer says of him:

"As a lawyer he was clear, comprehensive and incisive. The qualities of his mind led him from the stricter technicalities of the law to the milder methods of equity, and during

the active years of his career he had few equals and no superiors in Ohio in chancery practice."

In the course of an address delivered at a meeting of the Knox County Bar upon the occasion of the death of Mr. Curtis, Hon. W. C. Cooper said:

"As a lawyer Mr. Curtis was indeed eminent and successful. He deserved success and succeeded as he deserved. In his long career he no doubt met some lawyers more brilliant, some more eloquent, some more learned, and others more formidable, but he rarely met any in whom all these elements of the great lawyer were blended into more complete, well-rounded, powerful unity than himself; for he possessed all these qualities in an eminent degree. He was learned, logical and eloquent, so that we are not surprised in turning the pages of our court records to find that for nearly fifty years he was engaged in almost every important case there recorded."

In an address upon the same occasion delivered by Hon. Columbus Delano, who for nearly half a century was a cotemporary practicing lawyer, running side by side the race of life with our departed friend, the speaker said referring to the period of their acquaintance: "Mr. Curtis, at that time in the chancery and business branch of the profession was the leading member of the bar." Speaking of the family of Mr. Curtis, and particularly of his father and brothers, Mr. Delano said: "All were cool, deliberate and just, with strong and vigorous wills well restrained and controlled. They were necessarily men of endurance." "I ought to know" continues Mr. Delano, "as well as any living man something about the elements of the character of the deceased. In him the characteristic equanimity of temperament of the family was most markedly developed, but with it there was great energy and force of will with a strong emotional nature that was kept subdued in such a manner as to prevent it from predominating. There was with it very markedly sound judgment, a judgment capable of taking in and mastering all the facts and circumstances of any problem under its consideration. But this is not all. There was a marked and distin-

guished, and I may say indomitable industry with all this deliberate temperament and careful nature. There was an industry that never flagged and never failed and never ran riot. It was a steady, strong, persevering, never-tiring industry." The copious quotations from the language of these eminent gentlemen have been here resorted to in according with the well recognized rule of law that the best evidence the case affords shall always be produced.

In politics, Mr. Curtis was, in the days of that party, a Whig, but upon the organization of the Republican party he at once allied himself to that, and, indeed, was present and took part in its organization in Ohio.

Although he always acted with his party in all political movements and took great interest in public affairs yet he never, except in one instance, allowed himself to become a candidate for political office, seeming to have no taste to scramble for public place. In 1840 he was nominated by the Whig party as their candidate for Congress in the district then composed of Knox, Coshocton, Holmes and Tuscarawas counties. He was defeated, although he succeeded in cutting down the previous majority of the opposition nearly a thousand votes.

He was not, however, indifferent to the honor and dignity that belong to public office and public trusts. In 1840 he represented Knox county upon the State Board of Equalization. For many years he was an active member of the State Board of Control. For twelve years he was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Central Lunatic Asylum, and for several years the presiding officer of that body and wrote its annual reports for the last six years of that time. During this period the destruction of the old building by fire threw upon the Board the labor and responsibility of designing and carrying forward the work of constructing the immense building now occupied by that institution. In the year 1873 he was appointed by President Grant a member of the Board of Visitors of the Military School at West Point in which service his methodical industry and experience made him an exceedingly valuable man.

Knox county is justly proud of having within her borders an institution of learning, which, when judged by the number of illustrious men it has sent forth is second to none in the land. It is probably due to the influence and zeal of Mr. Curtis more than to any other one man that Kenyon College was located on the hill some four miles east of Mt. Vernon now known as the village of Gambier. President Bodine, in a brief address at the funeral of Mr. Curtis after narrating the circumstances connected with this fact, said: "In the providence of God, Mr. Curtis played a very important part in fixing the location of Kenyon College." He never lost his interest in that noble institution and never failed to embrace an opportunity of serving and assisting it, and for many years served on its Board of Trustees. A few years ago as an earnest of his zeal in the cause of higher education he donated to Kenyon College the sum of fifteen thousand dollars as the foundation for a fund, the income from which is to be used to assist indigent and meritorious young men to acquire an education. In this gift he not only showed great liberality, but by its terms he exhibited great wisdom and foresight.

Although devoted to his profession and with an extensive practice ever at hand Mr. Curtis still found time to devote to general business enterprises. In 1848 he organized the Knox County Bank of Mt. Vernon, a branch of the State Bank of Ohio, and served afterward as its president during the whole period of its existence.

In 1865 he re-organized this bank as the Knox County National Bank of which he continued to be president down to the time of his death. He devoted himself to banking and monetary affairs as a science and evidenced by his success his natural adaptation thereto. Indeed, Secretary Chase acknowledged himself indebted to him for some of the suggestions that led to the adoption of the present National Banking System, and Senator Sherman was in frequent correspondence with him upon financial subjects while Secretary of the Treasury of the United States.

Nor was there any enterprise likely to benefit Mount Vernon that did not find in him a friend and patron. His taste

for, and study of architecture, enabled him to give shape to many of the public buildings, and to encourage, by example, a more tasteful style of private residences. Many and many thousands of dollars has he contributed to railroad and manufacturing enterprises from which he never received any return except what inured to him along with all his neighbors.

It is indeed surprising to find that in all this intensely busy life anything of time or energy should be left from the demands of professional and business engagements. But the systematic industry of Mr. Curtis after meeting the demands of business took in history, science and literature; so that he was rarely approached upon any subject, whether it involved the elements of his early education; ancient or modern history; the discoveries and researches of science; general literature, old or new; and particularly the current questions of public policy, in which he did not show some degree of familiarity and evidence of careful thought.

Mr. Curtis belonged to a family remarkable for their great longevity and equanimity of temperament. His father attained an age of over ninety years; his brother Hosmer died in his eighty-sixth year and had he himself lived a few days longer he would have attained his eighty-sixth year. His two sisters, Mrs. Graham and Mrs. Eaton, the former now in her ninety-first year, and the latter in her eighty-ninth year, still survive him.

His brother, General Samuel R. Curtis, a graduate of West Point, who entered the military service early in the war of the Rebellion died at the comparatively early age of about sixty years.

He leaves surviving him of his own immediate family one son, Henry L. Curtis, a lawyer,—to whom is committed the administration and management of his large estate,—and two daughters, Mrs. Plimpton, widow of the late J. G. Plimpton, and Mrs. Devin, wife of Hon. J. C. Devin. In addition to these, his daughter, Mrs. Bridge, now deceased, left an only child, Emma, the wife of Charles D. Seeberger.

The serene clearness of Mr. Curtis mind was only equaled by his wonderful equanimity of temper and ability to control

his emotions. While he was ever ready to stand manfully in the defense and vindication of the rights of his clients, his friends and himself, no amount of annoyance from pressure of business, no degree of cruel or ill-tempered thrusts from an opponent could elicit from him the least expression of a ruffled temper. His words and manner were equally urbane whether he acknowledged a compliment or resented an insult. He never allowed himself to be betrayed into exultation over his success or to be in the least depressed by defeat.

In his contact with his fellow-men he accorded to all alike the same kind, cordial reception and considerate attention. None were so lowly or poor as not to receive respectful consideration by him.

Ever temperate and abstemious in his habits, always under perfect self-control, and careful and uniform in all things, Mr. Curtis attained his extraordinary age without the impairment of a single sense or faculty. His hearing remained perfect. He wrote and read without glasses. His perception was quick and his memory tenacious to the last. Until he started on his trip West, which proved to be his last, he could be found daily and punctually at his office, industriously at work and transacting business with the same self-reliant precision and dispatch that characterized his early life—affable, attentive, courteous to all.

A. R. McIntyre.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY OF ARCHÆOLOGY IN OHIO.

In no State of the Union are there more objects of archæological interest than in Ohio, and never before were we so well prepared to study them successfully as at the present time. Pre-eminently is it the case with such objects as our earthworks that they need to be studied by comparison with other such works the world over. Their treasures of knowledge cannot be rendered by themselves, nor even, with all the fulness of our present information, can it reasonably be supposed that these monuments can deliver up all their secret stores of knowledge at the present time. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the citizens of the State should be aroused to the importance of preserving such monuments as remain, and of collecting all the information extant respecting such as have been destroyed. It is also of the greatest importance that explorations of these works in the future should be conducted with the greatest accuracy and upon the most approved system. In the approaching centennial of the settlement of this State there is no other department of historical research making such imperative demands as this upon the attention of its citizens. We bespeak a general interest in the subject and the hearty co-operation of all with the aims of this Society. We cannot introduce the subject better than by printing a letter from Professor Putnam, Curator of the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology in Harvard College, and incorporated in the first report of the Committee of our Society upon the preservation of the earthworks of Ohio:

"Cambridge, Mass., Feb. 10, 1885.

"Dear Prof. Wright: It is with much pleasure that I learn from your letter that at last there is hope of some action being taken by the Archæological Society of Ohio to induce the State to provide for the protection of the more important of the ancient monuments within her borders, works which all students of American archæology know to be as important to

the history of America as the pyramids of the Nile valley are to that of Egypt.

"Within the territory of the State of Ohio are many remarkable and extensive series of ancient works, some of which are unlike any others known, while several have such close resemblances to those of other parts of America, and even with those of Europe and Asia, that their preservation for future study and comparison, under such new light as further research will give, is of the utmost importance.

"The admirable work of Squier and Davis, embracing as it does the plans and descriptions of earlier observers in the field, with their own additional surveys, will, by the faithful illustrations and well written pages, ever provide an account of the ancient monuments of Ohio; but this is not sufficient for the thorough student, as he must see the works himself and study them with that minuteness and discrimination which modern science demands in all departments. As this is true to-day, consider how much more important it will be in time to come, now that the rapid advance of archæology is widening the field of inquiry and demanding the constant re-examination of facts.

"The State of Ohio has an important trust in her keeping, and one which has been neglected too long. Even now, many of the important works of the peoples who formerly lived in her beautiful valleys have been levelled by the plough or thoughtlessly destroyed in building towns and cities. Had there been a proper appreciation of these grand old monuments of the past, how many a town and city in the State could have added beauty and grandeur to its public squares and parks by their preservation. Even Marietta, where every precaution was taken by its enlightened founders to preserve a portion of the remarkable earthworks over which the city is partly built, a few years since permitted one of the great embankments to be carted away for the manufacture of bricks, and the words sacred way, the name of the road which formerly passed between the old embankments, painted on a sign board and nailed to the corner of a fence, is a painful illustration of the probable fate of many other works of like character if not protected by the strong arm of the State.

"Circleville is another deplorable instance of the destruction of ancient works, where much could have been saved in such a way as to have added beauty to the town, had there been a proper appreciation of the subject. The rapidity with which these works are disappearing from the surface can be noted by any one who will take the trouble to hunt for many

of those described and figured in the valuable work by Squier and Davis, to which I have alluded. It will be found, on such an examination, that scores have been destroyed. Here and there a mound is left, and occasionally a hard ridge of clay is found, but in many instances all traces, even of large works, have disappeared, except to the practiced eye of a field archæologist. In a few cases, as at Hopeton and High Bank, the larger walls have held out thus far, because of the difficulty of ploughing over them, but they are slowly giving away, and if not at once protected the farmer will make an attack on them for the purpose of levelling his fields. What remains of these famous, and among the best known and most widely written about, of the works in the Scioto valley should be saved, and the destroyed portions should be carefully restored, under proper direction, so far as can be done by following an early and authentic survey.

"Among the other great works of that valley, those of Cedar Bank, as among the least injured, should be saved at once, as well as several of the large mounds. The 'Liberty Works' are, unfortunately, so nearly levelled as to be beyond restoration.

"The two famous effigy mounds of the State, the 'Serpent' and the 'Alligator,' should be saved at once from further destruction, and several of the great fortifications will, if protected, be beyond price to future generations. 'Fort Ancient' and 'Fort Hill' should be secured at once from further injury by cattle, hogs, and the plough.

"The fortified hill in Butler county, with its complicated gateways, is another place which should be protected without loss of time. The circle and some of the other works at Newark can still be saved, and Marietta has yet time to prevent a further disgrace falling upon her by the greater protection of the platform mounds, which, although nominally reserved as public squares, are not adequately guarded nor properly cared for.

"Of course there are many other ancient works of various kinds in different parts of the State which are as worthy of protection as those I have mentioned, and as soon as an effort is made in the State, local interest will make them known.

"The great interest I have taken in the archæology of Ohio, on account of its being of the first importance in relation to that of the rest of the country, leads me to call your attention to what I have said on other occasions in regard to the importance of the preservation of many of the ancient works which I have visited and you will therefore excuse my

referring to the following papers in which I have called attention to the subject:

"The Sixteenth Report of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology, pp. 168-9; Seventeenth Report, pp. 348-9 and particularly pp. 350 351. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October, 1883.

"With the earnest hope that the Ohio State Archæological Society will use every effort in its power to secure a law for the protection of the Ancient Monuments of Ohio, and with the assurance that the Trustees and officers of this Museum, founded for the study of the Archæology and Ethnology of America and the preservation of her antiquities, will give all aid in their power to such an important and noble object, I remain, faithfully yours,

F. W. PUTNAM."

We append two or three extracts from the publication of Professor Putnam, referred to in his letter:

"Fort Ancient is the largest and most interesting of the remaining earthworks of Ohio. We walked over the whole of the nearly five miles of high enbankment and noticed with regret the many signs pointing to its early destruction. Although it has withstood the elements for untold centuries, it is falling before the American farmer with his all-destroying plough, his herds of cattle and droves of swine. The immense enbankments, from twelve to twenty feet in height and sixty or more in width, are now gradually being undermined. Along their summits a fence has been built, by the side of which the cattle have worn a deep path, and from this, after every rain, flow hundreds of little rills which are slowly but surely washing the earth from the top to the bottom of the steep banks. Here and there, also, a ditch has been made to drain the fields enclosed, which every spring cuts deeper and deeper into the ancient walls. After fully appreciating the immensity of this structure and realizing the enormous amount of human labor which was bestowed centuries ago upon these ancient walls and the mounds which they enclose, it was with a sigh that I turned away feeling myself powerless to save so important a monument of the past for the wonder and admiration of future generations.

It would require but a few thousand dollars to secure this grand old work, and with little expense the recently destroyed portions could be restored and nature be induced again to furnish her protecting coat of verdure, and with slight care from coming generations this achievement of an unknown people would be preserved for all time to come." (Pp. 168, 169).

"Fort Hill, of which an accurate description and figure are given by Squier and Davis, is in several respects one of the most remarkable of the prehistoric works in the State of Ohio, and has not yet suffered much by the hand of man, thanks to its being difficult of access. Nature has held almost undisputed sway over the works since they were deserted, and forest trees of great age are growing upon the walls and within the enclosure. The walls of this fort are formed of stones taken from the top of the hill and from the ditch made on the inside of the walls. These walls are from eight to fifteen feet high and from twenty to thirty or more feet in width, and they enclose an area of nearly fifty acres. They are carried around the very brow of the hill, forming a continuation of its steep sides. Some conception of the antiquity of the place may be derived from the size of a decayed oak stump still standing upon the summit of the wall, which measures seven by nine feet in its two diameters, nearly three feet from the ground. This is probably the same stump which thirty-seven years ago Squier and Davis reported as having a circumference of twenty-three feet." (P. 349).

"A generation of men has not yet passed away since most of these earthworks were in a good state of preservation; our children's children will look for them in vain, unless something is done at once to preserve them. Is it not possible to protect these ancient works before it is too late? Every year that passes without action is one more year allowed for ploughing over and destroying these wonderful works. A few thousand dollars expended *now* for the purchase of those which are best preserved will save monuments that future generations will surely value beyond all price.

Shall Fort Ancient, Fort Hill, Hopeton, The Serpent, and many other ancient works in various parts of Ohio be obliterated? Shall such vandalism, such shame, be laid to Americans of this century? If the State will not take action, cannot the cities, or counties, or local societies become the preservers of ancient monuments? By Americans, who have so little of the past to preserve, these works of another race should be regarded with veneration and reverence. Of what value are our recent monuments of stone and bronze compared with these? Would it not be well to form an association for the preservation of ancient monuments?" (Pp. 350, 351).

The persistent labors of the archæologists of the country have already produced results going far towards a solution of the mystery of the mounds of Ohio. On this point, the following extract from a letter recently received from Professor Cyrus Thomas, of the Smithsonian Institution, speaks volumes, and should act as an incentive to further zeal on the part of all who are pursuing the study of archæology. Professor Thomas writes:

"You can say to your society that the mistery of the mounds is being solved. We have now proof that the Cherokees were the authors of the mounds of East Tennessee and western North Carolina so strong and convincing that when presented no one will doubt it any longer. Our explorations of the works of the Kanawha Valley show, on the one hand that they were constructed by those who built the mounds of East Tennessee and North Carolina, and on the other that the people who built them were the authors of the so-called altar mounds of Ohio. There is also other evidence that the Cherokees were the authors of the typical works of Ohio, and are identical with the Tallegwi of tradition. The mounds furnish positive evidence that the typical mound-builders of Ohio did not go south and merge into the Chata-Miskakee tribes as Judge Force surmised. They were Cherokees."

THE PROPER METHOD OF EXPLORING AN EARTHWORK.

So much injury has already resulted from haphazard and unscientific methods of exploration of the earthworks of Ohio that we deem it important to call the attention of all explorers to the methods now in use by the most skillful archæological investigators. In the ninety-second volume of the American Journal of Science the reader will find, in a description of Professor O. C. Marsh, of Yale College, an admirable example of the care and scrutiny it is important to exercise with every mound that is opened. Still, his methods were very imperfect as compared with those now adopted.

At the present time Professor F. W. Putnam has more experience than any other living person in these investigations, having already caused several burial places in Madisonville, near Cincinnati, to be excavated several acres in extent. We append extracts from an abstract of his recent lecture, at John Hopkins University, upon the "Methods of Archæological Research in America," and commend them to the study of any party who proposes to explore any of the mounds of Ohio.

The day has passed when a simple collector of relics of the past could be called an archæologist. To the general collector of "relics" in this country everything was Indian. To such an one a piece of pottery was an Indian vessel and nothing more. From collections made in that spirit nothing can be learned. The time has come when we must know the exact conditions under which every object placed in our museums of archaeology was obtained and its association with other things, in order to draw conclusions of any scientific value. Everything found, from a chip of stone to an elaborate piece of carving; from a mass of clay to a perfect vase or a terra-cotta figure; from a splinter of bone to an implement made of that material; from a shell to a carving on a

piece of shell; from nuggets of copper and other native metals to beautifully-worked ornaments; together with implements and ornaments of various materials, broken or whole, remains of charred fibres, matting and cloth; and seeds, nuts, corn-cobs and bones of animals — one and all show their associations and tell their story as a whole. With these should be preserved all human remains, from fragments of bone to perfect skeletons. Skulls are unquestionably the most important, but other parts of the skeleton should be studied as well. All these objects should be studied comparatively; their association should never be overlooked, and individually and collectively, they should be compared with similar groups of objects from near and remote places. Deductions of importance can be drawn only from material obtained by such methods....Trenching and slicing...express in general terms the method followed in field work. For instance, in exploring a mound a trench is first dug at the base of the mound. A slight vertical wall is made thereby showing the contact of the edge of the mound with the earth upon which it rests. Sometimes this trench has to be dug to the depth of several feet in order to find the bottom of the mound, as in cases where the mound is erected in an excavated area. This wall is the first section of the exploration, and its outlines should be drawn or photographed and its measurements noted. For the latter purpose it is better to stretch two strings over the mound, one north and south and the other east and west, and to take all measurements from those. After this first section is made, the work is carried on by slicing; or cutting down about a foot at a time, always keeping a vertical wall in front, the whole width of the mound. Each slice thus made is a section, and whenever the slightest change in the structure is noted or an object found, that section should be drawn or photographed, and measured as at first, and the exact position noted of an object, ash-bed, or change in the character of the structure of the mound. This method is continued until the whole mound has been dug away, and a thorough knowledge of its structure and contents obtained. Such work of course necessitates great labor and is expensive in

proportion, but only such a method will give full results; all other methods are partial and consequently of little or no value. In fact, unless such work is to be thoroughly done it should not be attempted.

In exploring village sites a trench should be dug through the accumulated leaf mold in order to find the outlines of habitations, and obtain the position of fire-places, refuse piles and other signs of occupation. The discoveries thus made should be followed by the removal of surface soil and trenching about the spots. In no case should an excavation be made from the surface of the mound, site of habitation, burnt space, or refuse pile. From the moment this is done all is confusion, and much is destroyed by being broken with pick or spade. By trenching and slicing this is avoided and the sequence of materials, as well as the outlines of habitation, fire-place or refuse pile can be determined and correctly drawn to scale. In exploring a cemetery, a similar method should be followed. A trench should be dug along the edge of the cemetery. Then the area should be marked off in blocks of fifty feet square in order to facilitate making a plan drawn to scale. A "block" should then be dug over to the necessary depth, beginning at the trench and throwing the earth behind, always keeping a vertical section in front the full width of the block. As each skeleton is reached it is seen in the section. Its position and surroundings should be noted. Every object buried with it will be seen in place as the earth is removed with a trowel and small hand broom from over and among the bones and objects[1].

[1] Reprinted from the John Hopkins University Circulars, Vol. V, No. 49, Baltimore, May, 1886, page 89.

ABORIGINAL HISTORY OF BUTLER COUNTY.

[After a brief popular discussion of the evidences of pre-glacial man in France, England, and New Jersey, Mr. MacLean spoke of the analogy between the situation of the gravel terraces along the Miami, in Butler county, and those in which the remains of man have been found in the other places referred to. Like the terraces on the Delaware at Trenton, New Jersey, where Dr. C. C. Abbott had found rough stone implements of pre-glacial age, the terraces of the Miami present an important field of investigation, though they have as yet yielded no direct evidence of man's presence as early as those in New Jersey. When the ice of the glacial period had retreated to the central and northern part of the State, Butler county was for a long period left in a most favorable condition for some race of hardy hunters like those which followed the retreating ice on the Atlantic coast to do the same here. It is worth while, therefore, for local investigators to be constantly on the lookout along the terraces of Southern Ohio. The negative and disappointing results of Mr. MacLean's efforts are thus stated:]

In the valleys of the Somme and the Delaware Bouches de Perthes and Dr. Abbott have found rude Palæolithic implements *in situ* as they were originally deposited in the gravel terraces of glacial age. But this cannot be said of the rude implements from Butler county.

With my own hands I have indeed taken rude chert implements from the bottoms of our creeks. But this proves nothing tangible in regard to antiquity. Whence came they there? Did they fall from the embankment above, or were they washed down from a point further up the creek, or were they recently exposed and still remained in position? No man can tell. The same thing has occurred in the bed of Whitewater, in the adjoining county of Franklin, Indiana.

[1]Abstract of a Paper read before the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society at a meeting at Hamilton, October 27th, 1885.

Once the Miami Canal extended an arm almost into the heart of the city of Hamilton. A few years ago this arm was cut off and the banks leveled. In the gravel of the south bank, near the junction with Seventh street, I found a rude stone implement, which evidently had been used as a netsinker. Still my evidence was not convincing.

A little south of our city the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad owns a gravel bank. Thousands of yards of gravel are annually taken from this deposit. In this gravel, after it has been loaded upon the cars, I have seen the same rude implement, fashioned almost after the pattern of the axe. Four years ago, midway between McGonigle and Wood's Station, in the gravel used for ballasting the railroad track, I picked up a porphyritic hatchet, regularly shaped, well wrought, although unpolished. This also had been taken out of the gravel bank just below our city. I have gone to the gravel pit several times, and tried there to find implements *in situ*, but so far I have not met with success.

Passing over a great lapse of time and casting speculation to one side, we come to the remains of a people upon which there can be no doubt.

With the exception of Ross county, Butler contains more antiquities than any other in the State. Prof. S. F. Baird pronounces it one of the most interesting spots on this continent. When it is considered that within its borders are less than three hundred thousand acres of land, the claims put forth appear to be exaggerated. And yet we have over 250 artificial mounds, and seventeen enclosures. All of the latter have been surveyed and described save one. Add to these over three hundred thousand various kinds of stone implements which have been picked up, and no mean appearance is presented.

Of these remains, the most celebrated is that known as Fortified Hill, located in Ross township, on Section 12, and less than two and one-half miles from the Miami. So far as my information extends, this work has never been surveyed but once—in the year 1836. The work was done by James

McBride and John W. Erwin—the delineation by the latter. The plan of the work with accompanying description was first printed in Squier and Davis' "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," published by the Smithsonian Institution in the year 1848. All other plans and descriptions have been taken from those made by Messrs. McBride and Erwin. Passing over such works as contain only a description, the following books may be named which contain a delineation of "Fortified Hill:" "Appleton's Cyclopœdia," 1873; Baldwin's "Ancient America," 1872; Bancroft's "Native Races of the Pacific Slope," vol. IV., 1875; MacLean's "Mound Builders," 1879; Larkin's "Ancient Man in America," 1880; Smithsonian Report, 1883; History of Butler County, 1883; and Allen's "Pre-historic World," 1885. It is thus seen that great prominence has been given to this work. The description of the work was originally written by James McBride. At this late day it may be impossible to tell what liberty Squier took with the original notes.

As the fort presents itself to-day it is by no means formidable, and one wonders why this structure should have been singled out in preference to many others which certainly contain more striking features. Fort Hill, in Highland county, is a stronger one. So is the fort just west of Carlisle station, on the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton Railroad, but as to this, our knowledge of it is more recent.

Viewed as it now is, we find it located on three farms, with two rows of fences running in diverse directions, passing through it. The northern half of the work is under cultivation—the wall for the most part sadly damaged by the plow. The crescent line of embankment exterior to the northern gateway has been obliterated, although it may be traced over the recently ploughed ground by a difference in the color of the soil. The walls enclosing the gateway are nearly ploughed down. What remains indicate that the main line of embankment was the heaviest. The plow has brought to the surface some of the limestone out of which the wall was partly composed. The northern part of the eastern wall skirts far below the backbone of the hill. The wall at

the lowest part of the hill where it occurs does not have the appearance of ever having been heavy. The western wall is in a fair state of preservation, although the plow has done much towards leveling it.

The southern half of the fort is still covered with forest trees and underbrush. The wall at this part does not appear to have been so high as at the northern extremity. In places large oak trees still stand on the wall, indicating that the wall itself was not high at these points. Still we are not able to judge clearly, for we know not what changes have taken place since the survey of forty-nine years ago. The tramping of cattle, the rains, the freezing and thawing, and the natural increase in the weight of the trees, must of necessity result in some changes.

The descriptions given of the work are uniform in declaring that the wall is composed of a stiff clay. Where the plow has run over it, there are indications of water-worn limestone as having constituted a part of the wall. One year ago I caused two different sections of this wall to be cut across. These drifts revealed that the outer face of the wall was originally faced to a height of three feet with regularly laid up limestone. The wall was three feet in breadth. The appearance indicated that during the lapse of time the stiff clay had fallen over the stone wall and thus concealed it.

Four hundred feet south of the eastern gateway is a mound semi-circular in form, the concave part facing the east. The mound from base to base is seventy feet by thirty feet. Its summit is thirty feet by twelve feet, and height five feet. This mound I opened in 1883, and an account of it is published in the Smithsonian Report for that year.

I failed to obtain the consent of the proprietor, a German, to open the mound, which stands a short distance north of the northern gateway. The owner stated that his boys wanted to open it. I tried to arrange a time when it should be opened. But I failed to obtain any satisfaction whatever. I have since learned that "the boys" opened it, but only ashes were found.

The other works of this county, save one, have been so

carefully described and delineated, that nothing here need be said.

It might, however, be of some interest to add that I caused the mound near the northern extremity of the New River Bridge to be opened last season. Among the objects found were a small copper cross and hatchet. The cross at once opens a wide range for discussion. It recalls the stone cross found on the Island of Cozumel, the one in the innermost part of the ruined temple of Palenque, and those from Tennessee. It recalls that nature worship to which, perhaps, all tribes and peoples, at one time or another were addicted.

J. P. MacLean.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE EARTHWORKS OF OHIO.

THE following bibliography was prepared by Mrs. Cyrus Thomas, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution, and is published, by permission, from the manuscript copy. Its publication will serve two ends: In the first place, to impart information already obtained, and in the second place, to solicit information supplementary to what is here contained. Any observers in the State who have facts concerning the earthworks of Ohio in addition to those here stated, will confer a favor upon the world by forwarding such information to Professor G. F. Wright, Oberlin, O., the member of the Editorial Committee in charge of this department, and the facts will be classified and published in future numbers, making our QUARTERLY by far the completest depository of such information.

In locating ancient remains it is desirable to note the following points:

The character of the works, whether mounds, stone, graves, burial places, enclosures, walls, caches, etc.

Whether explored or not, and if explored whether relics were found, the kind of relics and where such relics have been deposited, if known.

The exact locality, as near as can be determined, in township, county and State, and whether near a town or stream of any note.

Whether any notice or description has been published, and in what book, paper or magazine such notice may be found.

In all cases where antiquities have existed, but are now obliterated, they should be included in the list and mention made of their having been destroyed.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ADAMS COUNTY.

Great Serpent Mound, near Brush Creek, on the land of

Mr. John J. Lovett, Bratton [Franklin?] township. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., pp. 96, 98, pl. 35. Brief description by C. C. Jones, Sm. Rep., 1877, p. 279. Few additional particulars, 17th Rep. Peab. Mus., pp. 348, 349, and Proc. Am. Antiq. Soc., New Series, v. 3, No. 1.

ASHLAND COUNTY.

Enclosure near the north line of the N. E. quarter, Sec. 9, Mohican township.

Earthwork and mound, about two miles southwest of Jeromeville, on farm of Nicholas Glenn.

Mound on the right bank of Lake Fork, on highest land in the county, in the northern part of Lake township. Reported by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep., 1881, pp. 595, 596.

Mound in the south end, on the farm of Lewis Oliver.

Parr's Fort, a circular embankment, one mile from Shambaugh's Fort. A large mound stood near it on the east side.

Darling's Fort, a circular enclosure, two and a half miles from Parr's Fort, near St. John's Church, on the north bank of the Clear Fork of the Mohican River. Described by Geo. W. Hill, Sm. Rep., 1877, pp. 265, 266.

Ramsy's Fort, a quadrangular earthwork, on the southwest quarter of Sec. 28, in Jackson township.

Two mounds in the north part of Perry township. Examined; yielded specimens.

Metcalf's Fort, a circular enclosure on Jerome Fork.

Winbigler's Fort, a circular enclosure, on the opposite side of the Jerome Fork, on the northeast quarter of Sec. 9. Described by Geo. W. Hill, in Sm. Rep., 1877, p. 262.

Deposit of flint implements in Sullivan township. Full description, Geo. W. Hill, Sm. Rep., 1874, pp. 364-366.

Stone mound, on high hill just north of the junction of Black and Clear forks. Explored. Hanover township.

Stone mound, on hill south of Clear Fork, just below junction of Pine River, Hanover township.

Cemetery of Delawares, in Green township, on left bank of Black Fork, east of county line.

Rock shelter, in the northwest corner of Hanover town-

ship, on right bank of Clear Fork. Reported by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep., 1881, p. 600.

Bryte's Fort, a quadrangular enclosure, about a half mile from Spratt's Hill. Described by Geo. W. Hill, Sm. Rep., 1877, pp. 264, 265. Reported by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep., 1881, pp. 593, 594.

Mound near Perryville, on the road to Newville. Described by Geo. W. Hill, Sm. Rep., 1877, pp. 265, 266. Reported by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep., 1881, p. 599.

Mound just north of Loudonville, on the summit of Bald Knob, containing stone graves.

Burial ground of the Delawares, S. W. quarter section of the N. E. quarter section, Sec. 18, Green township, a few rods north of the Black Fork.

Fire places near south line of S. E. quarter section, Sec. 18, Green township, on opposite bank of the Black Fork.

Earthwork, half a mile east of burial ground. Reported by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep., 1881, pp. 597, 598.

Mounds in the vicinity of Gamble's Fort. Opened; contained specimens.

Small mound in Montgomery township. Opened; contained specimens.

Norris mound, on Sec. 28, in Orange township, opened, contained specimens. Described by Geo. W. Hill, Sm. Rep., 1877, pp. 262, 263.

Large mound near the village of Mifflin. Brief description by Geo. W. Hill, in Sm. Rep., 1877, p. 266.

Stone mound, north of Perryville, on a lofty eminence overlooking the Black Fork valley to the northeastward, and eastward the valley near Loudonville.

Mound on S. W. quarter section, Sec. 18, Green township, on the right bank of Black Fork, above Perryville. Earthwork near it explored.

Earthwork and stone mound, on summit of ridge between Black and Clear Forks, S. W. corner of Green township. Reported by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep., 1881, p. 599.

Old Indian cemetery, near the village of Orange, on the premises of Mr. Jacob Young.

Shambaugh's Fort, a circular fort enclosing a mound, on the Black Fork of the Mohican River, Sec. 18, Green Tp. Described by Geo. W. Hill, Sm. Rep., 1877, pp. 264, 265.

Gamble's Fort, a circular embankment 2,145 feet in length, on a height near the town of Ashland. Reported by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep., 1881, p. 595. Explored and described by Geo. W. Hill, Sm. Rep., 1877, pp. 262, 263.

Two mounds on Sprott's Hill on the N.E. quarter section, Sec. 35, Clear Creek Tp.; in one a stone grave containing eight skeletons. Described by Geo. W. Hill, Sm. Rep., 1877, pp. 264, 265, and reported by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep., 1881, p. 595.

ASHTABULA COUNTY.

Ancient earthworks near Conneaut on Conneaut river. Described by Atwater, Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I. pp. 124, 125. Described and figured from survey of Col. Whittlesey, Anc. Mon., p. 38, Pl. xv. No. 2.

Aboriginal cemetery near Conneaut. Mentioned by Col. Whittlesey in Anc. Mon., p. 38.

ATHENS COUNTY.

Seven enclosures or Forts and seventeen conical mounds on Wolf Plain. Explored and fully described, some of the articles obtained being figured. Professor E. B. Andrews, Rep. Peab. Mus., Vol. II. pp. 56, 74. (Probably the works mentioned by Howe, Hist. Col. Ohio, p. 53.)

"School House Mound;" contents noted in 9th Rep. Peab. Mus., p. 18.

"Beard's Mound;" contents noticed in do., p. 18.

Mounds and embankments are to be seen in every part of the county. Several opened. Brown's Western Gazetteer, p. 306.

Mounds and "ancient fortification with gateways." One of the mounds (now removed) was of stone. Four miles north of Athens. Howe's Hist. Col. Ohio, p. 53. (Proba-

bly the works explored and described by Professor Andrews, Rep. Peab. Mus., Vol II., pp. 56, 74. Described and figured Anc. Mon. pp. 64, 65, Pl. xxiii. No. 2.)

BELMONT COUNTY.

Mound half a mile from the Ohio River. Opened and described. Coll. Hist. and Misc. and Monthly Lit. Jour. II (1823) p. 48; also in Ohio Monitor. Probably same as that mentioned in Rufinesque's Cat., 16 feet high in which iron and silver were found, Annals Ky., p. 36.

BROWN COUNTY.

Cave deposit near Decatur containing refuse-heap. Am. Antiq., Vol. I. (1879,) p. 186, from Marietta Register for Oct. 12.

Group of mounds four miles north of Ripley, two of them surrounded by ditch and embankment. Reported by Charles M. Smith.

BUTLER COUNTY.

Ancient earthworks six miles southeast from the town of Hamilton. Surveyed and described in 1842 by Jas. McBride, J. P. MacLean in Sm. Rep., 1881, pp. 600, 603. Diagram on page 602. These works are located partly in Fairfield Tp., Sec. 15, 8, and 16, and partly in Union Tp., Secs. 8 and 14.

"Fortified Hill," on the west side of the Big Miami, three miles below Hamilton on the S. E. quarter section, Sec. 12, T. 3 N., R. 2 E. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 16, 18, Pl. vi; also by MacLean in Mound Builders, pp. 184-187, fig. 53, and brief notice and figure by same in Sm. Rep., 1883, p. 850. Explored, described, and figured by John P. Rogan, Thomas MS., p.

The A. McCormick mound, Sec. 4, Fairfield Tp., on farm of Mrs. A. McCormick. Described and figured by John P. Rogan, Thomas MS. p.

The "Wm. M. Cochran Mound," one mile northeast of Bunker Hill on Sec. 24, Reily Tp. Explored, described, and figured by John P. Rogan, Thomas MS. p.

The "John Hoffman group" of mounds near the central portion of the county. Explored, described, and figured by John P. Rogan, Thomas, MS. p. Probably the same one mentioned by John P. MacLean, situated in Sec. 9, St. Clair Tp., Mound Builders, p. 214.

The "George Warwick Mound," two miles north of Hamilton, in St. Clair Tp. Explored, described, and figured by John P. Rogan, Thomas MS., p. Noticed by J. P. MacLean, Mound Builders, p. 216.

Large circular enclosure on the west side of the Big Miami, about seven miles below Hamilton, on Secs. 27 and 34, T. 3 N., R. 2 E, Ross Tp. Described and figured, Anc. Mon. pp. 85, 86, Pl. xxx, No. 2; also by MacLean, Mound Builders. pp. 190, 191, fig. 55.

Group of six mounds, Sec. 21, T. 5 N., R. 2 E. in Ross Tp., mentioned and figured, Anc. Mon., p. 170, fig. 57, No. 1. More fully described and figured, MacLean, Mound Builders, pp. 194, 195, fig. 56.

Mound on land of J. and G. Meescopf in the southern portion of the county; one mile east of the R. Cooper mounds. Explored, described, and figured by John P. Rogan, Thomas MS., p.

Mound on farm of Robert Cooper, Sec. 9, Fairfield Tp. Explored, described, and figured by John P. Rogan, Thomas MS. Noticed by J. P. MacLean, Mound Builders, p. 181.

The "Samuel Lamdon mound," Sec. 8, Reily Tp. Explored, described, and figured by John P. Rogan, Thomas MS., p. Brief description by John P. MacLean, Mound Builders, p. 202.

The "Henry Schwarm mound," a mile and a half northwest of the village of Reily. Explored, described, and figured by John P. Rogan, Thomas MS., p. Probably the one on Sec. 17, Reily Tp., mentioned by J. P. MacLean, Mound Builders, p. 202.

Enclosure, ditch, and mound on Seven Mile Creek, near Somerville, Milford Tp., on Secs. 3 and 10, T. 5 N., R. 2

E. Described and figured by MacLean, Mound Builders, pp. 207, 209, fig. 59. Brief notice and figure, Anc. Mon., p. 90, Pl. xxxi, No. 2.

Mound from which was taken a frog pipe and charred cloth. Reported by Thomas Dover.

Mound one mile south of Post Town Station and two miles north of Middletown in which were found rolls of cloth and other relics. Reported by John S. Earhart, O. T. Mason, Sm. Rep., 1880, pp. 443, 444.

Ancient work (enclosure) on Four Mile Creek, N. W. quarter section, Sec. 31, T. 5 N., R. 2 E. (MacLean says Sec. 36, T. 5 N., R. 1 E.) in Oxford Tp. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 29, 31, Pl. xi, No. 2 and also by MacLean Mound Builders, pp. 204, 205, fig. 58.

Ancient work (enclosure) on the bank of Seven Mile Creek on Secs. 4 and 9 in St. Clair Tp. about five miles north of Hamilton. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., p. 29, Pl. xi. No. 1; also by MacLean in Mound Builders, pp. 212, 213, fig. 60. The mound explored by John P. Rogan, Thomas MS., p.

Ancient fortification in Sec. 8, T. 2, Fairfield Tp. Described and figured by MacLean, Mound Builders, pp. 177, 178, fig. 49. Brief description and figure, Anc. Mon., p. 22. Pl. viii, No. 2.

Ancient enclosure near by the preceding. Brief notice and figure, MacLean, Mound Builders, p. 178, fig. 50.

Enclosure with oblong mound inside on the bank of Nine Mile Creek, on Sec. 30, T. 5 N., R. 3 E., in Wayne Tp. Described and figured by MacLean, Mound Builders, pp. 217-220, fig. 61. Briefly noticed and figured in Anc. Mon., p. 90, Pl. xxxi, No. 3.

Square enclosure and mounds on east side of the Big Miami, about four miles below Hamilton, on Sec. 10, in the southwest part of Fairfield Tp. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., p. 85, Pl. xxx, No. 1.

Circular earthwork on east side of the Big Miami in Sec.

9, southwest corner of Fairfield Tp. Described and figured by MacLean, Mound Builders, p. 178, fig. 50. Brief notice and figure in Anc. Mon., pp. 90, 91, Pl. xxxi, No. 4.

Enclosure with double walls; mounds and ditch on the west bank of the Big Miami, four miles southwest of Hamilton, on Sec. 13, T. 3 N., R. 2 E. in Ross Tp. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 30, 31, Pl. xi, No. 3; also by MacLean, Mound Builders, pp. 188, 190, fig. 54. The mound explored, described at length and figured by J. P. MacLean, Sm. Rep., 1883, pp. 848, 849.

Mounds in Liberty Tp. (only ancient works in this township) are mentioned by MacLean as follows: In Sec. 20, on the farm of S. Rose, one, and on the farm of D. B. Williamson, one; in Sec. 26, on the farms of Stephen Clawson and C. Bandle, three; one in Sec. 15 and another on Sec. 34 (Mound Builders, p. 176).

Group of small works (square and oval enclosure and mound) Sec. 14, T. 3 N. in Union Tp. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., pp. 91, 92, Pl. xxxii, No. 1. More complete description by MacLean, Mound Builders, pp. 171, 172, fig. 46.

On the adjoining section (8), same Tp., is a small circular enclosure described and figured by MacLean, Mound Builders, pp. 172, 174, figs. 47, 48.

Ancient Fortification on the east bank of the Big Miami about six miles above Hamilton on Sec. 16, in northeast corner Fairfield Tp. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 21, 22, Pl. viii, No. 1; also by MacLean, Mound Builders, pp. 181, 183, fig. 52.

Maps and diagrams of Butler county showing location of signal mounds with explanatory notes. J. P. MacLean, Sm. Rep., 1882, pp. 752, 758. A thorough description of the various ancient works of this county, a separate description being given of each work with fig. of most of them. J. P. MacLean, Mound Builders, pp. 153, 228, figs. 46, 64 and map of the county showing location of

the several works. Those described by others are mentioned separately in this catalogue under "Butler County, Ohio."

General description of the mounds of the county with special notices of the group on Sec. 21 in Ross Tp (same group figured in Anc. Mon., p. 170) figured, one opened. Brief description of the group on the Miami described in Anc. Mon., p. 30, Pl. xi, fig. 3; one opened and figured. J. P. MacLean, Sm. Rep., 1883, pp. 844 851.

CHAMPAIGN COUNTY.

Roberts' Mound, on Buck Creek. Excavated. Described by Professor Thomas F. Moses, Proc. Central Ohio Sci. Ass., Vol. I., pp. 32-36. Illustrated.

Mound on the farm of the late Judge Dallas, four miles below Urbana. Explored. Described by Professor Thos. F. Moses, Proc. Central Ohio Sci. Ass., Vol. I., pp. 43-44.

The Baldwin Mound, on a hill lying between the north and east forks of Buck Creek, about eight miles southeast of Urbana, on the farm of Judge Samuel Baldwin. Described and illustrated by Prof. Thos. F. Moses, Proc. Cent. O. Sci. Ass., Vol. I., pp. 36-41.

A mound, on the ridge northeast of the Baldwin Mound, on the farm of Mr. Wilson. Excavated. Described by Prof. Thos. F. Moses, Proc. Cent. O. Sci. Ass., Vol. I., p. 42.

Deposit of bones in the northeast corner of this county, on the east side of Buck Creek Valley. Mentioned by Prof. Thos. F. Moses, Proc. Cent. O. Sci. Ass., Vol. I., pp. 44-45.

Small mound a few rods distant. Noticed by same, same article and page.

Deposit of skeletons at Catawba Station, on the C., C., C. & I. Railroad. Described by Prof. Thos. F. Moses, Proc. Cent. O. Sci. Ass., Vol. I., p. 45.

CLARKE COUNTY.

Mound containing a cache of flint implements. Mentioned in Proc. Cent. O. Sci. Ass., Vol. I., p. 43.

Ancient remains, consisting of lines of embankment and mounds, at Haddix Hill. Described and diagram given by

Professor J. E. Warren, Proc. Cent. O. Sci. Ass., Vol. I., pp. 53, 56; mentioned also by Prof. Thos. F. Moses, Proc. Cent. O. Sci. Ass., Vol. I., p. 30.

The large mound at Enon. Mentioned by Prof. Thos. F. Moses, Proc. Cent. O. Sci. Ass., Vol. I., pt. 1, (1878) p. 30; also on p. 56; also by Prof. J. E. Warren.

Ancient burial ground—skeletons in a sitting posture—in Columbia, on the line of the C., C., C. & I. R. R., near Lagonda River. Described by S. D. Peet, Proc. Dav. Acad. Sci., Vol. II., pp. 138-140.

Mound on the Foley farm, about four miles east of Springfield, on a ridge midway between Buck Creek and Beaver Creek. Explored. Described by Prof. Thos. F. Moses, Proc. Cent. O. Sci. Ass., Vol. I., pp. 42-43.

CLERMONT COUNTY.

Singular earthworks, consisting of numerous lines and curves, on East Fork of Little Miami, about twenty miles above Milford. Mentioned in Anc. Mon., p. 95, and figured Pl. xxxiv, B. No. 2. Was surveyed by General Lytle, and a plan of it appeared in Williamson's work on the Climate of America, pp. 9, 195, Fig. No. 1.

Ancient works, near the western border of the county, near the junction of East Fork and Little Miami, one mile east of Milford, known as the Milford works. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 94, 95, Pl. xxxiv, No. 1. Brief notice, with reference to present condition, 17th Rep. Peab. Mus., p. 350; also figured in Hugh Williamson's Obs. on Climate, p. 197, Fig. No. 3.

Remains of several ancient fortifications, near Milford, on the east bank of the Little Miami, two miles from its mouth. Western Gazetteer, p. 293.

Small rectangular earthwork, on the East Fork of Little Miami, about four miles above the Milford work. Mentioned, Anc. Mon., p. 95. Survey was made by Gen. Lytle, and published in Worden's Appendix to Dupaix's Antiq. Mex.; also figured.

[*To be continued.*]

THE SOCIETY AND THE *QUARTERLY.*

The past fifteen years have witnessed, especially in the United States, a striking and continuing zeal for the pursuit of historical study and investigation. By the side of the historical student the archæologist has been pursuing his studies with unflagging energy. The evidences of what we may call the "new historic spirit" are seen on all sides. Never before in the history of this country have there been so many specialists pursuing various lines of historical and archæological investigation. Never before were there so many enthusiastic young men entering into this work—not as mere general students, but for their special life-work. Never were the mines of historical truth being so carefully worked. Never were the results of the delving richer in treasure.

Probably no other decade in the history of civilization has seen so many valuable contributions to historical knowledge, as have been laid before the world during the past ten years through books, monographs, historical magazines and reviews. Some of these contributions are unsurpassed in merit, many are valuable fragments of historical truth, while very few are totally devoid of value. Most of them are the results of careful and honest research and differ as widely from the so-called historical works of a generation or a half ago as a modern scientific treatise on Zoology differs from Goldsmith's "Animated Nature."

The crowning evidence that this zeal for historical knowledge is widespread and that it is no mere passing freak is found in the organization or reorganization of State Historical Societies; and in the formation of an American Historical Association for the purpose of bringing together "those writing, those teaching and those studying history." This association, although but three years old is now said to outnumber in membership every national organization representing the other branches of intellectual pursuits.

The educational institutions are also doing their full share not only in the study of history already written, but in the far more important work of original investigation of subjects, which though important, have received little careful consideration on account of their seeming smallness as compared with the broader general history of the country. Yet the results of these investigations are of vital importance in the light they throw upon the development of our country and its institutions. Some of these colleges — notably John Hopkins University — are publishing in serial monographs the results of the investigations made by their students, and are thus doing much for the cause of historical study.

Still there are many subjects of local history and local institutions, which can be truly and properly investigated only by men or women living in or near the places where the events occurred, and where the material for investigation chiefly lies. Hence there arises a necessity for local or at least State societies which shall foster and encourage these local investigations, and act as a medium for bringing together the investigators and their results. Again, the archæological and historical material for studying these matters is rapidly disappearing, owing to the neglect or inappreciation of their value by the average American citizen.

In another place in the QUARTERLY attention is called to the destruction of the mounds and earthworks of Ohio. Not less careless have the people been with regard to the preservation of manuscripts, old documents, and papers containing mines of treasure for the historical delver. Even the State itself is said to have sold to the paper manufacturers or permitted to mold and decay in the damp rooms of the State-house, hundreds of valuable dcuments, which cannot be replaced. It is even said that some of the Executive offices of our State do not to-day possess a complete set of their own reports. Here too important service can be rendered by State and local historical societies in collecting and preserving valuable papers and documents and in creating a public spirit that shall demand the careful preservation of every scrap that can be valuable to the future historian.

The Archæological and Historical Society of Ohio has a special importance on account of the unusual richness of archæological and historical treasures in the State. On the archæological side, there are mounds to be preserved and opened; systematic results to be brought together from isolated investigations. On the historical side the subjects of special importance are probably more numerous than in any other State outside of the original colonies.

The influence of the Ordinance of 1787 on subsequent institutions in the Northwest; the peculiarities of our State Constitution and local governments; the early history and peculiarities of our settlements and municipal institutions; the varied religious elements of the State; the history and growth of our material industries—all these and many more subjects will amply repay careful study. The Society can do a great work, as can no individual or group of individuals elsewhere, in encouraging investigators, by affording them a hearing for the results of their study, and in bringing together for conference those who are seeking to unravel our earlier history.

Still if these studies are worth pursuing, if their results are worth obtaining, in order to be valuable they ought not merely to be read before the limited audiences gathered in the meetings of the Society; they must be preserved in permanent form and given to the world. We cannot rely upon newspapers and general literary magazines to publish all of the valuable papers presented to the Society. It is necessary that the Society should itself print them. For these reasons, then, primarily, is the publication of this QUARTERLY undertaken. Its scope and contents will not, however, be limited to addresses and papers read before the Society. Whatever is valuable, pertaining to the archæology and history of Ohio and the Northwest Territory, and is in fitting shape for such a publication as this, will be deemed within the scope of its purpose. While western territory will be its peculiar field, other portions of American archæology and history will not be neglected.

It is believed that the QUARTERLY will not only interest

and profit historical students in all parts of the United States, but that through its pages a stimulus can be given to the further and more systematic study of Western archæology and history by those best situated for carrying on such work —students, old and young, residing in the West.

GEO. W. KNIGHT.

NOTICE.—It is but just to the Editorial Committee to state that the papers that have hitherto been read before the Society were secured by the Library Committee. Their appearance in the QUARTERLY, in full or in abstract, is in persuance of arrangements which were in force when the Editorial Committee was chosen, and for which the latter is in no way responsible. Hereafter, however, the selection of papers to be read before the Society will be made by the Library Committee, with the knowledge and approval of the Editorial Committee, as expressed through its chairman, and the selection of material therefrom for insertion in the QUARTERLY will be left solely to the Editorial Committee, where it rightfully belongs.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary,
Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Organization and Proceedings for the Year 1885, with Abstracts of Addresses, and Papers Presented before the Society.

PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE.

A preliminary conference, to take steps towards the organization of a State Archæological and Historical Society, was held at Columbus on the evening of February 12, 1885. Prior to this time there had been in existence a State Archæological Association, which had, however, become inactive after several years of successful work. This meeting was called by Mr. A. A. Graham, of Columbus, after consultation with many friends of the old Society. There were present at the meeting General James S. Robinson, of Kenton; Hon. Chauncey N. Olds, of Columbus; Professors N. S. Townshend and S. C. Derby, of Ohio State University; Messrs. J. J. Janney, C. J. Wetmore, and A. A. Graham, of Columbus. Letters regretting inability to be present and endorsing the movement were received from General R. Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield, and Hon. Henry B. Curtis, of Mt. Vernon.

General James S. Robinson was chosen as President, and Mr. A. A. Graham as Secretary of the meeting.

The object of the gathering was stated to be to consider not only the revival and reorganization of the former Archæological Society, but the addition to it of an historical side, which would largely increase the value of the Society and the scope of its labors. It was urged that as so much valuable material was being constantly taken from Ohio by the Associations of other States, no time should be lost in forming a permanent society for archæological and historical collection and for the encouragement of researches in the counties and townships of the State.

As a result of this conference, General James S. Robinson, Professor N. S. Townshend, and Mr. A. A. Graham were appointed as a committee to draft and issue a call for a State convention of those interested in the subject, to be held at Columbus, at some convenient date in the month of March, 1885.

THE CALL FOR A CONVENTION.

In pursuance of these instructions, the committee prepared the following circular, of which numerous copies were sent to every county in the State:

"COLUMBUS, O., February, 1885.

"DEAR SIR—You are, no doubt, aware that in the year 1875 a State Archæological Association was constituted, that had at the time of the centennial year a very commendable number of members, and exerted considerable influence. It gathered a very good museum, and issued valuable reports. The Association held several very interesting meetings, and laid an excellent foundation. Among its last officers was the late Professor John T. Short, whose enthusiasm did much to keep alive the interest in the Society, and whose death, in the midst of his usefulness and his labors, deprived the Association of one of its most active and zealous members. No one appeared ready to take his place, and for a time the Society has been practically inoperative.

"It was found by experience that the subject of archæology did not interest a sufficient number of people, and it is purposed, in the reorganization which we shall now effect, to extend its influence and scope, and add thereto a geological and a historical feature.

"The necessity and usefulness of such a Society is apparent to every intelligent person. It needs no argument. All other States, East and West, are rapidly passing Ohio in these matters, and, by united and persistent efforts, are preserving their archæological and civil history. These collections are invaluable to their people, and teach to their children lessons they can learn in no other way.

"Ohio, the oldest State in the Northwest, is one of the richest fields for the student of history. This fact is so apparent that institutions from other States are continually investigating her remains and her history, and enriching their cabinets with valuable collections, which should and would remain in her own care did such a Society as it is now pro-

posed to organize enter the field, rightfully its own, and diligently pursue its investigations.

"In 1787 was passed the famous ordinance guaranteeing freedom forever to the great Northwest, of which Ohio forms an integral part, and which was the first State organized under that "Constitution of Liberty." Younger States in the "territory northwest of the river Ohio" are moving in the matter of a centennial celebration of that important event. Shall not, and should not, Ohio take the lead? One year after this ordinance was passed, a band of forty-one pioneers came down the Ohio, in the "Mayflower," anchored their vessel near the mouth of the Muskingum river, and here, April 7th, 1788, was made the first permanent settlement of our State. The centennial of this event will soon occur. Shall not a proper celebration perpetuate its memory?

"It is proposed to hold, in the City of Columbus, in the State Capitol, during the second week of March, beginning Thursday, the 12th, a convention of all those interested in the history of Ohio, and who may wish to aid in the organization of such an Association. We extend to you a special invitation to come, and hope to see at this convention representatives from every part of Ohio.

"The objects of the Association may be briefly outlined as follows:

1. To bring together all those interested in these questions.
2. To revive and organize a permanent society, whose purpose shall be to hold stated meetings, for the advancement of these and kindred subjects by all laudable efforts on its part.
3. To collect and arrange relics, and to publish material relating to the archæological and civil history of Ohio.
4. To maintain a depository of archæological and historical relics; to preserve manuscripts, pamphlets, papers, books, paintings, and all other historical material; and to do such other acts as may tend to enhance the study of history.

* * * * * * * * *

"We will also be obliged if you will interest others, and induce as many as you can to attend the convention.

JAS. S. ROBINSON,
N. S. TOWNSHEND,
A. A. GRAHAM,
Committee."

The responses were prompt and evinced a good degree of interest in the movement. The circular, modified to suit cir-

cumstances, was also sent to the principal educators of the State. A synopsis was also printed in all leading county papers.

Pending the convention, informal meetings of those interested in the formation of the Society were held in Columbus, to perfect arrangements. At one of these, Alexis Cope, John W. Andrews and A. A. Graham were appointed a committee to draft a plan of permanent organization. R. A. Harrison, H. T. Chittenden and R. E. Neil were made a Committee on Arrangements, and John J. Janney, Charles Wetmore, Sr., and S. S. Rickley were delegated to secure temporary officers.

FINAL ORGANIZATION.

Pursuant to the "call" issued for a convention, about sixty gentlemen, representing all parts of the State, met in the State Library on the morning of Thursday, March 12th, 1885. The meeting was called to order by Mr. S. S. Rickley, of Columbus, who nominated Hon. Allen G. Thurman as Chairman. Judge Thurman, on taking the Chair, gave a general outline of the work done by the former Archæological Society, and briefly sketched the work proposed for the new organization.

Mr. A. A. Graham was elected temporary secretary of the convention.

The committees appointed at the previous informal meetings, submitted reports as follows:

Mr. H. T. Chittenden, on behalf of the Committee on Arrangements, reported that a public meeting had been arranged for, to be held in the Senate Chamber in the evening.

The Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, reported articles of incorporation, which, after discussion and slight amendment, were adopted in the following form:

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION.

The undersigned citizens of Ohio, having associated themselves together, and desiring to form a corporation not for

profit, under the laws of said State of Ohio, do hereby subscribe and acknowledge the following articles of incorporation:

1. The name of such corporation shall be THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

2. Said corporation shall be located and its principal business transacted at the city of Columbus, county of Franklin, and State of Ohio.

3. Said Society is formed for the purpose of promoting a knowledge of Archæology and History, especially of Ohio, by establishing and maintaining a library of books, manuscripts, maps, charts, etc., properly pertaining thereto; a museum of pre-historic relics and natural or other curiosities or specimens of art or nature promotive of the objects of the Association—said library and museum to be open to the public on reasonable terms—and by courses of lectures and publication of books, papers and documents touching the subjects so specified, with power to receive and hold gifts and devices of real and personal estate for the benefit of such Society, and generally to exercise all the powers legally and properly pertaining thereto.

4. Said Society has no capital stock.

The articles of incorporation were signed by the following

CHARTER MEMBERS.

ALLEN G. THURMAN,	D. H. GARD,
DOUGLAS PUTNAM,	S. C. DERBY,
JOHN W. ANDREWS,	CHARLES W. BRYANT,
S. S. RICKLEY,	A. A. GRAHAM,
HYLAS SABINE,	E. M. P. BRISTER,
E. B. FINLEY,	BEMAN GATES,
CHARLES J. WETMORE,	W. A. SCHULTZ,
WM. E. MOORE,	ALEXIS COPE,
W. P. CUTLER,	R. BRINKERHOFF,
A. W. JONES,	T. EWING MILLER,
JOHN J. JANNEY,	H. T. CHITTENDEN,
ISRAEL W. ANDREWS,	JAMES S. ROBINSON,
JOHN B. PEASLEE,	HENRY B. CURTIS,
N. S. TOWNSHEND,	H. A. THOMPSON.

The Committee on Organization also reported By-Laws for the Society. Upon motion of Gen. E. B. Finley, these

were ordered printed and made the special order for the afternoon. The Convention then adjourned till three o'clock in the afternoon.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

MARCH 12, 1885.

The Convention assembled at 3 p. m., in the Senate Library, and resumed the consideration of the By-Laws. They were read article by article by the Secretary, and after considerable discussion and amendment were adopted.

[As an early number of the QUARTERLY will contain a copy of the By Laws as amended to the present time, together with a complete list of members of the Society, it has been thought unnecessary to print them at this point.—EDITORIAL COMMITTEE].

On motion of J. W. Andrews, the Chairman appointed S. S. Rickley, I. W. Andrews and John B. Peaslee as a committee to nominate fifteen trustees as provided in the By-Laws just adopted.

After a brief recess, the committee submitted a report, and the persons therein named were duly elected as follows:

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

For three years.	*For two years.*
A. G. THURMAN..Columbus.	W. P. CUTLER....Marietta.
DOUGLAS PUTNAM..Marietta.	T. EWING MILLER.Columbus.
JNO. W. ANDREWS Columbus.	W. E. MOORE...Columbus.
H. B. CURTIS..Mt. Vernon.	N. S. TOWNSHEND.Columbus.
R. BRINKERHOFF..Mansfield.	H. T. CHITTENDEN.Columbus.

For one year.

A. W. JONES....Youngstown.
HYLAS SABINE.....Richwood.
H. A. THOMPSON.Westerville.
ISRAEL W. ANDREWS.Marietta.
JAMES S. ROBINSON...Kenton.

The Society then adjourned to meet in the evening for a public session.

FIRST PUBLIC MEETING.

MARCH 12, 1885.

When Hon. Allen G. Thurman called the meeting to order, at 7:30 p. m., the Senate Chamber was closely filled with members of the Society and others who evinced a decided interest in the new Society and its objects. The Chairman, in opening the meeting, expressed the thanks of the Society for the courtesies extended during its meetings, and for the large audience present before him.

He then introduced General R. Brinkerhoff, of Mansfield, who spoke of the "Old Ohio Archæological Association," of which the present Society is the successor. The following is an abstract of his remarks:

My object is to state something concerning the old Archæological Association, of the work done by it, and why it failed. Ten years ago, at a meeting held in Mansfield, some people were stopping at my house who were interested in the study of archæology. Conversations were held on the subject, and it was determined to hold a meeting of Ohioans interested. About fifty responded to the call. The purpose was purely to form an archæological association, and the purpose was carried out. In 1876 the Association was represented at the Centennial. The Legislature of Ohio appropriated twenty-five hundred dollars to make an exhibit of this nature. Time was short, but an interesting and creditable showing was made. In the opinion of those competent to judge, Ohio had by far the finest exhibit of prehistoric relics, except that of the Smithsonian Institution. Over seven thousand five hundred articles were shown, and in some respects it was hardly inferior to that of the Smithsonian.

In Ohio there are a large number of articles that only need collecting to make them of great value. The people who formerly lived here have left many fine relics. The population of Ohio ages ago was fully equal to that of to-day. They had brains, and have left magnificent monuments of their skill. They were not Indians. When we remember that mounds as large as this Capitol were built, and that, too, by

carrying the dirt in baskets, it is fair to say that on some of these mounds was put as much work as upon some of the pyramids.

By actual count there are ten thousand mounds in the State. These relics should be preserved. We have permitted these earthworks, mounds, and graves to be despoiled by the whole world. The ornaments, utensils, and implements are of such value that Ohio is the spoil of all nations, and many of the best relics have already been carried away. It was in part to preserve these relics that the old Archæological Society was formed. There are better collections of ancient relics of Ohio in London and Paris than in the State. But there are single collections remaining, which, if brought together, would be far better than those that have gone. There is one private collection in the State worth to-day more than fifty thousand dollars, and there is one in my own county worth ten thousand dollars. But these single collections are, after all, of little value. The thing to do is to aggregate them. This is what we should seek to do in our Association. The best relics are still in the State, still in the ground, still in the thousands of mounds, and the State should have sufficient pride in herself to take care of them. All that is necessary is to have a room in the Capitol where relics can be placed, and the collections will be donated.

The Association has been broadened so as to take in history. This is the first State Historical Society. Year after next is the centennial of the Ordinance of 1787, and Ohio is the first child of that ordinance. When it is known what grew out of that ordinance, it should be an object of pride to all Ohioans to see that anniversary properly celebrated.

Upon the conclusion of General Brinkerhoff's address, the Chairman introduced Dr. I. W. Andrews, of Marietta, who spoke upon "The Beginnings of the Colonial System of the United States."

[This address is printed in full elsewhere in this issue of the QUARTERLY.—EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.]

Professor John B. Peaslee, of Cincinnati, was then intro-

duced, who read an address upon "Ohio." The following is an abstract of the address:

After a brief account of the settlement of the State, her subsequent history demanded attention. The history of Ohio in the wars of the country, the achievements of her brave soldiers, her varied resources and their development, her intellectual and material attainments—all these are wonderful, considering the brief lapse of time in which the history of the State has been made and recorded. Less than a hundred years ago not a single white settler lived within the borders of a great State which now contains more than three millions of inhabitants. At that time the Indian held full control of our hills, valleys and plains, and nothing upon the face of our land showed the existence of a superior race, but the mounds scattered here and there over our territory. The origin of these mounds, while the subject of much investigation, is still disputed and surrounded with more or less of uncertainty, but the value of the relics contained in the mounds is great since they assist us in our studies of prehistoric man.

This society now just formed can be made of immense value to the youth of our State in inspiring them to a more thorough study and appreciation of the character of Ohio's pioneers. Local history should come before that of foreign countries. Knowledge to be most useful should include a thorough and familiar acquaintance with the locality in which the student lives, and familiarity with Greek and Roman history is worthless in comparison with the love of home and country which such knowledge will inspire. Teach the children the history of the fall of Fort DuQuesne, of the settlement of Marietta, of Ohio's admission to the Union, but above all teach them about the ordinance of 1787. Teach them that because of this ordinance religious persecution has never stained the soil of Ohio. At the head of the States formed from the Northwest Territory is Ohio, the pivotal State of the Union.

Upon the conclusion of this address the Chairman intro-

duced Hon. Wm. P. Cutler, of Marietta, grandson of Dr. Manasseh Cutler, who read an address upon "The Settlement of Ohio." The following is an abstract of the paper:

At the beginning of the Revolution the Continental Congress, in order to recruit men for the army, offered land bounties to those who would enlist "for the war." As Congress did not own an acre it practically said to the army, "Conquer the Western Territory from the British and you shall have your share." At the end of the war the Western Territory had been conquered. At the close of the war there was no money in the Treasury of Congress with which to pay the soldiers; nor was the Congress able by the "requisition" power to raise the necessary means with which to meet their obligations to a brave soldiery. The soldiers were dismissed from camp without sufficient money to pay their way to their own homes, and having only the "final certificates" representing balances due them from a bankrupt treasury. In this extremity the promise of a bounty in lands made at the beginning of the war recurred to them, and two hundred and eighty-eight officers and soldiers petitioned Congress, reminding them of the promise, and asking that the lands might be located in the Ohio Valley. This petition, endorsed by a letter from General Putnam, was advocated by Washington, but produced no direct action on the part of Congress.

But the New England army had determined to locate in the West, and the movement, begun with the petition of the soldiers, did not cease until the formation of the Ohio Company, their land purchase in the Ohio Valley, and the ordinance of 1787 led the way to the settlement of Ohio at Marietta in 1788.

After the emigrants from New England reached Marietta, they had peace for a time. The colony was thoroughly organized and paid the expenses of a four years' Indian war.

If there is any value in recalling the deeds of those who have done faithful service in a noble cause, these men should be remembered. The nation has honored itself in rearing a memorial to the Father of his country, but could the Com-

mander-in-Chief have achieved such results without his army? Is this generation so buried up in the rubbish of an abounding and demoralizing prosperity that there is no place in their grateful reflections for the men who spent life and fortune to preserve untarnished their own sacred honor and to lay for posterity the deep and broad foundations of liberty, religion, morality and knowledge?

Hon. Henry B. Curtis, of Mt. Vernon, was next introduced, and in his remarks dwelt mainly upon "The Influence of the Character of the Pioneers upon the History of the State."

Mr. Curtis had taken part in the organization of this Society because he hoped that it would remove the obscurity which now envelopes the people of prehistoric times. The prehistoric man has left, in the pleasant plains, the hills and the valleys of this State, traces of his existence and numerous relics whose importance we are but just beginning to appreciate. For example, a mound was not long ago opened near Mt. Vernon, in which a man's skeleton was found. The only metallic utensil was a copper breast-plate. An interesting discovery was that of nearly a hundred claws belonging to an animal now extinct. These relics were taken to Washington, thus removing from the State the contents of another one of her mounds.

The Society should, however, direct its attention not simply to the prehistoric man but also to the history of the past century and of to-day. History and archæology should go hand in hand.

In the history of our own State it was the character of the pioneers that made the most lasting impress upon the moral, physical and intellectual growth and development of the commonwealth. It was energy and enterprise that suggested to those people in the East to go into an unsettled country in order to improve their condition. They were men of education. They had obtained their learning in the best schools in the country. They brought with them character and refinement. It is the character of such men that has made us what we are. To those who came, who built

the log school-houses, who brought the circuit riders, we are indebted for the moral foundations of our commonwealth. Not less, perhaps, than to the circuit riders, are we indebted to the lawyers of the early part of this century, the names of so many of whom stand high in the annals of our State.

Dr. W. E. Moore, of Columbus, spoke briefly of the religious history of the State and the influence of the churches in its early days. The State began to flourish after the revival of religion following the infidelity of the French Revolution. The influences of that revival upon our people in early days are still seen in the fact that Ohio has more religious sects than any other State. No other State has so many churches and ministers, in proportion to its population. There were pioneer preachers of almost every sect, whose labors, trials and achievements should be remembered by us and in the future.

After Dr. Moore had concluded his remarks, the Society, upon motion, adjourned to meet at ten o'clock, Friday morning, March 13th.

BUSINESS MEETING.

FRIDAY, MARCH 13, 1885.

The Society met at ten o'clock, in the State Library.

Twenty persons, whose names were proposed for membership, were duly elected members of the Society, thus making the enrollment at the first session of the Society, forty-eight.

Professor John B. Peaslee, of Cincinnati, stated that, in his opinion, it would be well to engage, as a Society, in an effort to arouse in the children of the public schools of the State a proper interest in the coming anniversary of 1888. He urged upon the Association to take some step in the matter as soon as possible, in order to prepare the children for an intelligent commemoration of the settlement of Ohio.

As a result of the discussion that arose, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That John B. Peaslee be requested to prepare a pamphlet on the pioneer history of Ohio, for the celebration by the public schools, of the Centennial of the first settlement of the State.

On motion, the Executive Committee was requested to take into consideration the policy of the Society with regard to the celebration of 1888.

The following resolution, offered by Hon. John W. Andrews, was adopted:

Resolved, That this Society cordially approves of the erection at Marietta of a suitable monumental structure, to commemorate the services of the patriotic men who obtained a valid title to the Northwest Territory, and established therein the principles of civil and religious liberty, expressed in the Ordinance of July 13, 1787; and the Society will gladly participate in the proposed celebration, to be held in the city of Marietta, of the seventh of April, 1888, to commemorate the application of the principles of the ordinance in the first permanent occupation of the soil of Ohio by systematic colonization.

On motion a committee, consisting of Alexis Cope, A. A. Graham, and R. Brinkerhoff, was appointed to secure, if possible, a room in the State-house for the use of the Society in exhibiting its archæological collection.

On motion of General R. Brinkerhoff, the Executive Committee was authorized to provide for the compensation of the Secretary.

The Society then adjourned to meet at the call of the Trustees.

ACTION OF THE TRUSTEES.

The Trustees of the Society, at a meeting held on Friday, March 13, 1885, elected the following

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY:

President—Allen G. Thurman.
First Vice President—Henry B. Curtis.
Second Vice President—R. Brinkerhoff.
Secretary and Librarian—A. A. Graham.
Treasurer—H. T. Chittenden.
District Vice Presidents—*First*, John B. Peaslee; *Third*, T. J. Godfrey; *Fourth*, R. B. Hayes; *Fifth*, S. S. Rickley; *Sixth*, C. W. Bryant; *Seventh*, W. A. Schultz; *Eighth*, W. M. Farrar; *Ninth*, Henry Todd; *Tenth*, E. B. Finley.

The following Committees were also elected:

Executive Committee —Allen G. Thurman, T. Ewing Miller, N. S Townshend, H. A. Thompson, and James S. Robinson.

Finance Committee — James S. Robinson, W. E. Moore, and H. T. Chittenden.

COLUMBUS, APRIL 24, 1885.

The Society met in the Senate Chamber at the State-house. In the absence of the President, District Vice President Rickley presided.

The report of the Secretary for the month was read. Also a report from the same officer concerning the opening of the Adelphi mound.

Mr. J. J. Janney, of Columbus, read a paper on "The State Bank of Ohio." [This paper has since been printed in full in the *Magazine of Western History*, Vol. II., No. 2, June, 1885.—EDITORIAL COMMITTEE].

The following is an abstract of the paper:

The true basis of banking is that those having surplus money unite together and employ some person to loan it for them; but prior to the formation of the State Bank of Ohio, banks were generally established for the purpose of earning money by those who had no means, surplus, or necessary. In 1816 a general banking law was enacted, by which eleven banks were established, and in a list of banks published in 1860, four of these were reported "worthless," three "broken," and one "closed." The Eastern States had fared no better than Ohio. In the list before referred to, there are one hundred and twenty-one "closed," thirty "broken," and nine "worthless" in New York, and one hundred and twenty-two "closed," thirty "broken," and twenty-six "worthless" in New England.

To relieve Ohio of such a system, the Legislature, during the session of 1844–5, under the leadership of Alfred Kelley in the Senate, and Benjamin S. Cowan in the House, passed

an act to establish the State Bank of Ohio. The act provides that the bank shall have a capital of six millions one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and in addition the capital of such existing banks as might be authorized to become branches. The State was divided into districts, among which the capital was distributed, and not more than one branch could be established in any county, except in certain specified cases.

A Board of Bank Commissioners was named in the act. Under its supervision, seven branches having been accepted, the organization was effected on the 15th of July, 1845.

The act did not establish any parent bank, but each branch elected a member of the Board of Control, who must have certain specified qualifications. This board was made a body corporate by the name of the State Bank of Ohio, and managed and controlled the conduct of the branches. The charter and the by-laws of the Board defined the powers and duties of branches as to loans, transfer of stock, reports to the Board, interest of directors, loans to directors, and all the details of their management.

Notes for circulation were furnished by the Board of control, and countersigned by the branch issuing them. The amount that a branch could issue was determined by the amount of capital, being from twice the amount down to three-fourths the amount of capital. The law fixed the amount of each denomination.

On the 18th of March, 1852, the Board established a clearing office, to which notes not fit for circulation were returned. At that time, the only means of public conveyance for them was the mails, and while packages of fifteen hundred dollars were sometimes sent, but two were ever lost, amounting to less than three hundred dollars. In the first notes issued, the name of the branch was written in with a pen, but subsequently the name was engraved. In 1851, Draper, Welsh & Co., of Philadelphia, engraved a set of new plates, and so complete was their execution, that no successful attempt was ever made to counterfeit them.

On the 19th of May, 1862, there was in the hands of the President, of unsigned notes, $650,000; in possession of the

Vice President, $216,000, and in the hands of the Secretary, signed, $1,868,749, making a total of $2,734,749, which was considerably less than the average amount. May 19th, 1868, arrangements were made by the Board for the redemption of all outstanding notes, including those of the broken branches, the determination being that every note issued by a branch of the State Bank of Ohio should always be redeemable in coin. The amount of bank notes lost or destroyed is greatly over-estimated. The total amount of circulation the State Bank could issue was $8,950,000. The amount outstanding May, 1870, was $360,021, and is now certainly not over $300,000. That would be about three per cent. of the circulation for twenty years, or about fifteen hundredths of one per cent. per annum.

In the panic of 1846, and again in 1857 and 1862, the Board took active measures to keep the circulation at par. A system of examination of the branches by members of the Board of Control was found unsatisfactory, and John R. Finn was elected Vice President and Examiner. He examined each branch at least once a year, and oftener, if deemed advisable. His examinations were thorough and complete.

Forty-one branches were established, of which six became insolvent: the Toledo Branch, the Commercial Branch of Toledo, the Akron Branch, the Licking County Branch, and the Mechanics' and Traders' Branch of Cincinnati. Their notes were redeemed by funds provided by the other branches, and were always at par.

The State Bank passed successfully through three severe mercantile paroxysisms, 1847, 1857, and 1861. It always discountenanced, and finally refused to put in circulation, notes from other States, and established an agency at Cincinnati for their return and redemption.

The charter provided that on the first Monday in May and November each branch should set off to the State six per cent. on its profits in lieu of all taxes, but the Legislature passed an act in 1851 changing the method of taxation, which the bank successfully resisted. When the national banking system was adopted, taxing the circulation of State

Banks, it was thought to be very unjust, especially as the State Bank had loaned to both the National and State Governments a large amount, trusting only to the honor of each for repayment.

If, at any time it was found that the coin in the vault of a branch was below the required amount, stringent measures were at once enforced to correct the error, and in 1847 the Board took measures to import coin to supply any deficiency. Gustavus Swan was elected President of the Board of Control at its organization and served until November 21, 1854, when Dr. John Andrews was elected. He served until November, 1866, when Joseph Hutcheson was elected, who served until May 17, 1870, at which time the Board adjourned *sine die*, having elected J. Twing Brooks President.

James T. Claypoole, James Gillett, John J. Janney, and R. C. Hull each served as Secretary of the Board.

The State Bank of Ohio answered the purpose of its formation. It furnished a safe circulating medium for the people and paid a good interest on the investment of its stockholders.

After the reading of the above paper, the Society, upon motion, adjourned.

MANSFIELD, O., SEPTEMBER 15, 1885.

A joint meeting of the Richland County Historical and Pioneer Society and the State Archæological and Historical Society was held under the auspices of the former society at Mansfield. The meeting was presided over by General R. Brinkerhoff, Second Vice President of our Society. Among other proceedings a paper was read by Hon. Henry B. Curtis, of Mt. Vernon, upon "Pioneer Days in Central Ohio."

[This paper, or an extended abstract of it, will appear in a later issue of the QUARTERLY. EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.]

COLUMBUS, OCTOBER 2, 1885.

The Society met in the City Hall, and in the absence of

the President, the Chair was occupied by Dr. N. S. Townshend, of the Executive Committee.

The Secretary presented his report for the preceding months. It showed one hundred and sixty-four members on the rolls, and a long list of donations of valuable archæological specimens and historical material. Upon motion of Rev. W. E. Moore, the Secretary was instructed to return the thanks of the Society to the donors.

The Secretary then announced a large

DONATION FROM DR. FRANK O. HART,

as shown by the following communication:

"COLUMBUS, O., OCTOBER 2, 1885.

"From early boyhood I have had a predilection for historical research. I have paid considerable attention to archæological science, giving special effort to the cultivation and study of specimens from my native county. While I do not claim nor merit recognition among archæologists, I have given the subject of archæology what leisure I could spare from professional duty. For eight or ten years I have spent no little time and money in collecting archæological specimens in Williams county. One by one I have gathered these remains of prehistoric races until my collection numbers about five thousand [specimens]. This occupation has afforded me both pleasure and profit.

"In order that I may contribute to the general fund of knowledge, and in the hope of awakening a proper interest in archæology, and with a special desire to manifest my appreciation of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, it is my desire to present to that organization my collection. The archæological specimens themselves most eloquently bespeak the frailty of human institutions and their inherent value as records of the past. Hence while I have an implicit faith in the good work and perpetuity of this Society, it is my desire to make the presentation on condition that, should the Society, from any reason, suffer dissolution, or should the Society fail to take proper care of the collection, the OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY shall possess the same as its own property. FRANK O. HART."

Upon motion of J. J. Janney, the following was unanimously adopted.

WHEREAS, Dr. Frank O. Hart, of West Unity, Ohio, has presented to the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society a large and valuable collection of Indian and prehistoric relics, which in itself constitutes an excellent nucleus and basis for a prehistoric museum, and

WHEREAS, A gift of this character, aside from its intrinsic value, is specially calculated to serve the Society by the example of public spirit that it sets; therefore

Resolved, That the Society hereby accept the generous gift of Dr. Hart, and pledges itself to bestow on it proper care, and so to display it that it shall fulfill the purposes of its donor;

That the collection shall be maintained in the museum distinct from all other contributions, and shall be known as the Hart collection;

That the Society hereby tenders to Dr. Hart its cordial thanks for his generous confidence and puts upon record its high estimate of his enlightened public spirit;

That the preamble and resolutions herein contained shall be entered on the permanent records of the Society.

Dr. Frank O. Hart, of West Unity, Ohio, then addressed the Society upon "Prehistoric Remains in Northwestern Ohio." The following is an abstract of the address:

In all lands where in ages past the climate has rendered habitation possible, the earth has been found thickly strewn with graves of vanished people. They have left no records of their lives save in a few surviving monuments, in rude implements and in fragmentary remains of their industry. All that can be gained from history, sacred and profane, supplemented by the hieroglyphic annals of Egypt and Assyria, carries us back only about forty-four centuries. Within the last fifty years the science of archæology has produced results that throw much light upon the origin and antiquity of man.

The number of prehistoric monuments on our own continent is legion. From Nova Scotia to Florida, from Atlantic to Pacific are found sites of ancient cities once densely populous. Europe, too, is full of them. In Russia, in Siberia,

in the Steppes of Asia, in the deserts of Africa, in Egypt—the oldest historic country—we find prehistoric remains. Geology, paleontology and archæology are working side by side to solve the question of man's first appearance upon the earth.

In Northwestern Ohio, in the deposit of the last geological age we find remains of animals and plants of which distinct species are common to-day; also remains of several extinct species of mammals. Northwestern Ohio was once the home of a vast population, composed of tribes who had fixed habitations in large towns, were skilled in agriculture, had systematic religious rites, and were not ignorant of art. Here we find numerous evidences of prehistoric cities, cemeteries, and stone implements and utensils of various sorts fashioned with no little skill. From these countless monuments and memorials of vanished races it has been found possible to construct a record of prehistoric man, his manner of life, his mode of burial, his religious ideas—almost all of importance concerning him except his language.

Brief speeches were made by Prof. Eli T. Tappan, of Gambier, and Prof. LeRoy D. Brown, of Hamilton, after which the Society, upon motion, adjourned.

HAMILTON, O., October 27, 1885.

A joint meeting of this Society and the Hamilton Literary and Scientific Society was held in Hamilton. The program of exercises included an address by A. A. Graham, Secretary of this Society, upon "The Origin of the Common Schools of the Northwest;" and a paper by Prof. J. P. MacLean, of Hamilton, on "The Aboriginal History of Butler County, Ohio." [This paper, somewhat condensed, is printed elsewhere in this issue of the QUARTERLY.—EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.]

COLUMBUS, November 13th, 1885.

THE Society met in the rooms of the Board of Trade, and

in the absence of the President, Rev. H. A. Thompson, of the Executive Committee, occupied the Chair.

The report of the Secretary showed numerous donations and accessions to the list of members.

DEATH OF HENRY B. CURTIS.

THE Secretary formally notified the Society of the death of Henry B. Curtis, First Vice President of the Society, on November 5th, at Chicago.

A committee, previously delegated by the President to prepare a fitting memorial of Mr. Curtis, submitted through Hon. John W. Andrews, the following:

This Society has heard with deep regret of the death of one of the most eminent and honored of its members, the Hon. Henry B. Curtis, a Vice President of the Society. Mr. Curtis was one of the two oldest members of the bar of Ohio at the time of his death, and those of us who were present at the organization of this Society, recall with much interest his appearance at that meeting, and the reminiscences which he gave us of his long acquaintance with the bar and eminent men of the State and Nation during the sixty years of his prosperous and useful professional life. Although more than eighty years of age he came from his home in Mt. Vernon in February last, to attend the meeting referred to, moved solely by the sympathy which he always felt and manifested in every wise effort to advance the public welfare. He was the friend of all institutions for the promotion of knowledge, and his earnestness in the cause of education was especially shown in the large donations which he made to the funds of Kenyon College, of which he was, for several years, a trustee.

The example of our departed friend and associate in thus identifying himself with the best interests of the State in its educational work and social progress, continuing his valuable labors, as he did, up to the very close of his life, may well be held in remembrance and followed by those of us who survive him and mourn his loss, and should have a permanent place in the history of this association. On motion it is

Resolved, Therefore, that the foregoing minute be entered upon the records, and a copy thereof sent to the family of the deceased.

Judge M. A. Daugherty said:

I join very heartily in the tribute which this Association pays to the memory of Henry B. Curtis. I have known him full forty years. He had entered the bar more than twenty years before our acquaintance began, and he was then recognized as one of the leading lawyers in central Ohio. The acquaintance then begun ripened into friendship, and for many years I have regarded him with the kindliest, and I may say, with affectionate feeling.

He lived to a very advanced age, lacking less than a month of eighty-six years. But his was

> "An old age, serene and bright,
> And lovely as a Lapland night."

Some men wear old age with the statuesque grace that was associated with the Roman toga, which, unlike modern garments of pronounced seams and straight lines, lends dignity, if not grandeur, to the presence. Mr. Curtis was one of these exceptional men. All through life he had the gentlemanly bearing and politeness that spring spontaneously from generous feelings and a good heart; and as years increased, these lovable traits were mellowed into an urbanity that was so marked, and yet without any trace of affectation, that the most casual acquaintance became impressed with it and carried it in memory as we bear in mind a beautiful landscape or a delightful perfume, the recollection of which is an ever recurring pleasure.

His interest in current events and in all his surroundings never seemed to lessen. Business was taken up and disposed of with a zest and force that we would not look for at his age. Social life was keenly relished by him, and the society of the young was not only delightful to him, but he also contributed to the pleasures of the young in a way that made them enjoy his society as he did theirs. Blessed with excellent health and great physical and mental energy that afforded and required activity, he seemed in full accord with

the activities around him. His heart did not grow old, and his sprightliness of conversation had nothing of garrulousness.

He reminded me of what is said in the biography of Madam de Stael of one of her German friends, Boustellen, who at the age of eighty-seven, used to insist that no one could be fully happy till after his sixtieth year; and that if the body, the mind and the heart were then what they ought to be, life would then be full and happy—his theory being that to resist with success the frigidity of old age, one must combine the body, the mind and the heart; and to keep these in parallel vigor one must exercise, study and love. Mr. Curtis lived up to this theory, and consequently, to the end of his protracted life he was found occupying pleasantly, usefully and beneficially his place in the business, the social and the domestic circles.

I linger on these traits, because they are beautiful, and if rare, ought the more to be commended, that they may become more common.

But it must not be concluded that his life was merely beautiful. With all these graces of manner and conduct he had a good share of the sturdiness that so distinguished the pioneers of Ohio, and aided largely in laying deep and strong the foundations of our great State. A thorough lawyer, he was also a thorough business man, methodical and persistent, but always and everywhere with a full recognition of the rights and feelings of others. His lines of character were strong, but they were not hard. Eminently just he was also pre-eminently generous.

A community is the better for such a life as his, and the community does not do itself justice if it does not perpetuate his memory.

Upon motion of Dr. W. E. Moore this tribute to the memory of Mr. Curtis was ordered spread upon the minutes of the Society.

The Chairman then introduced Professor W. H. Venable, of Cincinnati, who addressed the Society upon "Early Intel-

lectual Achievements in the Ohio Valley." The following is an abstract of the address:

The history of civilized man in the Ohio Valley covers not centuries but decades. New as the work of man is in the west, it does not look new. The first settlers of 1779 were the most independent men and women that Virginia could spare. The founders of Ohio remembering their Puritan ancestors, named the barge in which they voyaged from Pittsburgh the "Mayflower." In two years following the foundation of Marietta, 20,000 persons, young, and vigorous, came to organize the intellectual and material resources of the "Yankee State," as Ohio was called. In these early days the means of education were hard to command. The preachers of that period taught the people in their crude way, many of them not owning a copy of the Scriptures.

To the town of Lexington belongs the honor of being the pioneer settlement of the Valley. The first newspaper, the Kentucky Gazette, was published in 1786, and it was a small and primitive looking affair. Copies are now very scarce. Transylvania University was the first educational institution, and Dr. Nathaniel Holly, Dr. Dudley, Caldwell and others, were the instructors. Ohio University at Athens was established in February, 1804, by act of the Legislature, and its first academic degree conferred in 1815 on Thomas Ewing. The famous "Coon-skin" library was one of the wonders in those days. Next on the list of colleges was Miami University. The first school house was the Riley school at Columbia. In 1815 a Lancastrian seminary was founded at Cincinnati with 420 pupils, and was chartered afterward under the name of Cincinnati College. Thus schools, schoolmasters and books early diffused knowledge among the pioneers of the Valley. The scholastic ambition of our forefathers was fed gradually, but surely.

Public opinion in the West shaped itself around the nucleus of universal discussion. Everyone talked politics, breaking the old molds and casting new ones. They were trying a grand democratic experiment in a new part of the world. There was an intense opposition to slavery, and here were the termini of the "underground railways."

Theological and religious belief and speculation had a great influence among the people. The itinerant preacher was a person of conspicuous importance. Jews, Christians and Agnostics alike sought the privilege to think as they wished. Men of pronounced opinions sought proselytes by appeals to their convictions. Lorenzo Dow was one of these early

figures who breathed what he called the "Gospel of kingdom." There were many denominational schisms and discords about this time, and one result of this doctrinal clash was a series of debates held in Cincinnati on the questions at issue between religionists and anti-religionists. Robert Owen, Miss Frances Wright, Dr. Charles Caldwell and other leaders in religious and speculative opinions made the Valley the scene of their labors.

The pioneers had much to retard and repress their mental growth. While relying on the East they asserted their independence in thought, and excited ridicule for their provincialisms.

If there was one thing hated more than any other in the western country, it was the Frenchman or Englishman touring the country to write a book. The first literary magazine, the Western Review, was published at Lexington in 1815. Pioneer poetry often went on stilts, and borrowed stilts at that. Nevertheless there were a few very respectable verse makers in the Valley, generally drawing from nature for their subjects. To these wild poets, Liberty was the tenth muse. Book writing increased about this time, and a magazine writer of the time defends the literary men of the West against the aspersions of the Eastern press in a scathing article.

At the conclusion of the address the Society, upon motion, adjourned.

COLUMBUS, December 8th, 1885.

THE Society met in the Senate Chamber, and was presided over by Rev. H. A. Thompson, of the Executive Committee.

The Secretary's report showed a gratifying increase in membership, and several donations to the museum. The Secretary also reported that on December second a committee of the Society met by appointment the Executive Committee of the State Board of Agriculture, to confer upon the question of holding a Centennial Exposition in Columbus in 1888 — the one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Ohio. As a result of this conference it was decided that a committee of three from each body be appointed to formu-

late a plan of action, and report at a special meeting of both societies on January 13th, next.

As a result of this report from the Secretary, a committee of three was appointed, as recommended, consisting of H. T. Chittenden, W. Y. Miles, and E. O. Randall.

An address was then delivered by Gen. E. B. Finley, of Bucyrus, Ohio, upon "Mound Builders." [This address has been printed in the *Magazine of Western History*, Vol. V., No. 4, February, 1887.—EDITORIAL COMMITTEE].

Upon motion, the Society adjourned.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary.

BOOK NOTES.

***Any book mentioned in this department can be obtained through the Publisher of the* QUARTERLY.

PRIMITIVE INDUSTRY: or Illustrations of the Handiwork in Stone, Bone and Clay of the Native Races of the Northern Atlantic Seaboard of America. By Charles C. Abbott, M.D. Pp. 560. Salem, Mass.: Geo. A. Bates. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1881.

Taken all together, Dr. Abbott's work on Primitive Industry is the most important single contribution yet made to the subject of American archæology. The illustrations are numerous, and drawn from the whole range of specimens in the Peabody Archæological Museum at Cambridge, Mass.

The world is specially indebted to Dr. Abbott for the discovery of palæolithic implements in the gravel deposits upon which the city of Trenton, N. J., is built—a discovery which at once connects the archæology of America with the most ancient relics of man in the Old World. It is in this volume that the full account of these discoveries is detailed, occupying the last ninety pages, and containing a chapter by Professor Lewis, of the Pennsylvania Geological Survey, giving the evidence that this gravel is of glacial origin, thus proving the existence of man in America before the close of the glacial period. The book should be read by every student of archæology.

THE MOUND BUILDERS: Being an account of a remarkable people that once inhabited the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, together with an investigation into the archæology of Butler county, O. By J. P. MacLean. Illustrated with over one hundred figures. Pp. 233. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1887.

This inexpensive volume has for some time been the best manual available to assist in the study of the earthworks of Ohio, and must remain such for some time, until the results of present investigations are much more fully systematized and thought out. To the archæology of Butler county eighty pages are devoted.

NEW YORK: The Planting and the Growth of the Empire State. By Ellis H. Roberts. (American Commonwealths). 2 Vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887.

The want of a history of the Empire State has long been felt, and this want has at last been supplied. Within these two volumes the author has compressed the chief matters of interest and importance pertaining to the history of the first State of the Union. By following the normal division of its history into periods, Mr. Roberts has been enabled, and has well utilized his opportunity, to trace the growth of the State from its infancy, with

apparently a proper adjustment of leading and minor features. The character of the people at different eras is well shown as producing its effect upon the immediate doings and permanent institutions of the State. The political history of the State; the progress of educational institutions; the development of internal improvements and the construction of water-ways; the constitutional and judicial experiences; the peculiar land problems, arising from the old Dutch colonization; the literary activity; the progress and supremacy of manufactures — all these are dwelt upon with clearness and in detail. The relations of New York to the Nation at various important crises are shown in a clear, though occasionally too favorable, light. The author might, indeed ought to have dwelt more forcibly upon the municipal problems which have arisen in connection with the city of New York. In no State of the Union have questions of municipal administration come more constantly to the front, and received more curious and experimental solutions than here. The results and experiences of these are properly an important part of the life of the State. On the whole, however, Mr. Roberts has made one of the most successful of the works in this valuable series.

Life of Henry Clay. By Carl Schurz. (American Statesmen). 2 Vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1887.

A biography of Henry Clay from the pen of so thorough a student of American political history and affairs, as Mr. Schurz, is in itself almost an epoch in biographical literature. In the case of Clay, more than in that of almost any other American statesman of the second era, the life of the man is merged in the history of the country. Covering, as it does, almost a half century of active political labor, including the period of the War of 1812, the Missouri Compromise, the Compromise of 1833, the Compromise of 1850, several hot presidential campaigns, the early stages of the American System, to give an account of Clay's life is but to write American political history as molded, bent, made or marred by Henry Clay — to view it and him in their mutual relationships. With an occasional bias, on the one side or the other, Mr. Schurz has, as was to be expected, given us an admirable book. His position as a leader of political thought at a later time has given Mr. Schurz a great advantage in estimating Clay's career, though at the same time, one less actively interested in political affairs, might have been expected to view certain phases of Clay's life in a little less striking light. The book is one that will be highly valued by readers and students of American political history.

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SEPTEMBER, 1887.

SALMON P. CHASE.

THE careful study of a grand and successful life like that of Chief Justice Chase cannot fail to be interesting, whether viewed with regard to the position reached by one who from a farmer's boy in moderate circumstances came to be United States Senator, twice Governor of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury, and finally Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; or whether it be considered with regard to the character he developed, and the good he was able to accomplish. From either point of view, the study of such a life must afford to young men a great incentive to effort; it will also serve to indicate the successive steps that need to be taken and to fix attention upon the particular agencies through which success must be attained. In the brief time at our disposal, instead of attempting to present an orderly narrative of events in the life of Mr. Chase, we may perhaps better secure the object if we state at once what appear to have been his leading characteristics, and what were the elements of his wonderful strength and success.

[1]Read before the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society at its Second Annual Meeting, February 24th, 1887.

After a somewhat intimate acquaintance with Mr. Chase for a period of thirty-five years, many months of which we lived under the same roof, and ate at the same table, we may venture to attribute his elevation to three agencies — ability, character and opportunity; and we propose to refer to circumstances in his life and history which will show how each of these contributed; and how their combination secured the grand result.

The ability displayed by Mr. Chase may be attributed in part to original endowment or inheritance, and partly to his own determination and persistent and careful training. On his father's side he came from a family of respectable English Puritans; on the mother's side, from an equally respectable family of Scottish Covenanters. Of the brothers of his father, one, the Hon. Dudley Chase, was U. S. Senator from New Hampshire; another, the Rev. Philander Chase, was Episcopal Bishop of Ohio. Salmon Portland Chase, the eighth of eleven children of Ithamar and Janette Ralston Chase, was born in Cornish, N. H., January 13th, 1808. Ithamar Chase was a farmer, and all his children had their birth and passed their childhood upon the farm. The father's death, which occurred before several of the children were grown, compelled the mother and family to practice steady industry and careful economy. Salmon at an early age went to school, and made such progress that his uncle, Bishop Chase, was prompted to offer him assistance in obtaining a better education than he could otherwise have secured. When the Bishop came to Ohio, Salmon was permitted to come with him, and for a couple of years he studied and worked with his uncle at Worthington, near Columbus. After two years, when Bishop Chase went to Cincinnati to become President of Cincinnati College, Salmon was taken with him, and was already prepared to enter that college. After a year the college was closed and the boy returned to his New England home. Soon afterward he entered Dartmouth College, where all he could earn in addition to what the mother could afford to give him was needed to carry him through; but by

steady exertion and diligent application, he was able to graduate from Dartmouth College in 1826 at the age of eighteen. Then desiring to study law he went to Washington, D. C., and as a law student entered the office of the Hon. Wm. Wirt. Here he was compelled to resort to teaching in a classical school in order to earn money to defray his necessary expenses. After four years of teaching and study he was admitted to the bar; then at the age of twenty-two he again started for Cincinnati to seek practice in his profession.

So far we have shown his application and perseverance rather than his ability; a single additional fact will prove that he was a successful as well as a diligent student. In Cincinnati, finding but little active business, he collected and made a careful compilation of all the statutes then in force in Ohio, from those of the first Territorial Legislature in 1798 to 1833. This work required the examination of four volumes of Adopted Statutes, three volumes of Territorial Enactments, and thirty-one volumes of General Statutes. The compilation occupied much of his time for three or four years. When published it was familiarly known as Chase's Statutes, and immediately proved of great service to the legal profession of Ohio. It secured for the author the high commendation of such jurists as Judge Story and Chancellor Kent; the latter of whom, in acknowledging the receipt of a copy of the work, uses the following language: "Your edition of the Statutes of Ohio is a great work, and does credit to your enterprise, industry and accuracy. Your sketch of the history of Ohio prefixed to the first volume is admirable, and is written with impartiality, truth and eloquence."

That character has much to do with success in life, will be made apparent by reference to events in the life of Mr. Chase. As we have said of ability, so it may be said of character: it is partly a matter of inheritance, while in part it is the result of force of individual will. By the descendants of the Puritans and equally by those of the Covenanters subjects are apt to be first considered in their moral bearings. With persons so descended the first question in regard to

any proposition will probably be, "Is it right?" With some other people the question is more likely to be, "Will it pay?" and perhaps with others, "What will Mrs. Grundy say?" Mr. Chase was doubtless fortunate in his Puritan and Covenanter ancestry, but whatever influence that may have had, it is certain that he early acquired the habit of looking at all questions in their moral aspects, and this all through his life was a marked characteristic.

Passing by his earlier years, of which many pleasant things are upon record in a charming little book for boys called "The Ferry Boy, and the Financier," we come to what may be regarded as his first public act. In 1827, while he was a law student, a free colored citizen of New York, who was in Washington on business, was seized and imprisoned on suspicion of being a runaway slave. This occurrence led to much earnest discussion both in and out of Congress, and prompted Mr. Chase with others to draw up and obtain signatures to a petition to Congress praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia.

In 1833 James G. Birney, a slave-holder living in Alabama, became convinced of the manifold wrongs and evil results of slavery, and because he was not allowed under the laws of that State to emancipate his slaves, he removed with them to Cincinnati. The slaves were there set free and then assisted to make for themselves a living. Mr. Birney from that time devoted his energies to the anti-slavery cause. In 1836 he established in Cincinnati an anti-slavery paper called *The Philanthropist*, which, although eminently temperate in tone and spirit, gave great offense to the business men of Cincinnati, who evidently feared that the publication of such a paper would have the effect to drive Southern trade from the city. This feeling grew stronger from day to day, until it culminated in a disgraceful mob which scattered the types of *The Philanthropist* about the streets and threw the press into the Ohio River. Mr. Chase, who was well-known to be utterly opposed to such lawlessness, was immediately engaged as attorney for Mr. Birney, and with rare courage

he did all in his power to bring the offenders to justice, and to maintain for Cincinnati and Ohio the freedom of speech and of the press — rights at that time appreciated by but very few.

About the same time miscreants in or about Cincinnati made a business of capturing slaves who had escaped from the South, and of returning them to their masters for offered rewards. Colored people not slaves were frequently kidnaped and, with or without legal process, carried across the river into slavery. Slaveholders often traveled with their slaves by boat upon the Ohio River, and if the boats stopped upon the Ohio side, the slaves sometimes took the opportunity to escape. In one of these instances, subsequently known as the Matilda case, where a master had brought a slave-girl to Cincinnati, and afterwards endeavored to take her back into slavery, Mr. Chase appeared in her behalf, as he frequently did in similar cases, without expectation of pecuniary reward. After the hearing of this case, a gentleman of note who had been present, referring to Mr. Chase, said, "There goes a promising young lawyer who has just ruined himself." That gentleman knew how unpopular in those days was the defense of the enslaved and friendless. While Mr. Chase doubtless lost in social position and professional popularity by these efforts, his ability and genuine humanity came to be recognized both by his associates and by opponents. By this course he became familiar with, and thoroughly understood, the legal questions involved in slavery, and thus fitted himself to become the defender of right and justice not only in the courts of Cincinnati, but afterwards in the Senate of the United States, and finally upon the Supreme Bench.

These efforts in behalf of the oppressed and for the freedom of speech and of the press, all of which are fairly stated in Shucker's "Life of Chase," illustrate the character of Mr. Chase but in part. They indeed show his courage and independence, and his unselfish devotion to the interests of humanity; but the purity of his life, and his absolute conscientiousness cannot be better told than in the words of

Governor Hoadly, spoken at the time the remains of Mr. Chase found their final resting place in Spring Grove Cemetery. In an address for which all the friends of Mr. Chase will heartily thank Governor Hoadly, and the truth of which they will fully endorse, the speaker said:

"What helped him — yes, what made him, was this: He 'walked with God.' The predominant element of his life, that which gave tone and color to his thoughts, and determined the direction of all he did was his striving after righteousness. I do not refer to his theology, his theory of the Divine Nature; he could as easily work with a Unitarian, or Quaker, or Freethinker, as with a member of his own church. The right of free thought upon the greatest of topics which he claimed for himself he conceded to all, never pressing his influence in such matters upon the youngest and most immature of his associates. He was alike the friend of Theodore Parker and Chas. P. McIlvaine; he was a communicant and attached member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, of which his Uncle Philander, in whose family and under whose tutelage he passed a part of his boyhood at Worthington, in Ohio, was not only a Bishop but a strong Bishop. But I refer to the personal relations which he believed himself to occupy toward the Divine Power. To him God was not simply a name, but a living presence; not the author of a machine set in motion, and then abandoned, but his companion and guide, ready to draw near when sought in prayer, in meditation, in self-sacrifice, in good works, and right life. His God was his Master, daily and hourly bidding him be up and at his work, trusting to him talents and opportunities not for self-gratification, but for use in the Divine warfare, the royal battle against temptation within and wrong without. Behind the dusky face of every black man he saw his Savior, the Divine man, also scourged, also in prison, at last crucified. This is what made him what he was. To this habit of referring to Divine guidance every act of his life, we owe the closing words of the Proclamation of Emancipation, which Mr. Lincoln added from Chase's pen, as follows: 'and upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of all mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.' He had dainty tastes, disliked the unclean in word or person; but he put his pleasure under his feet when duty led him to the rescue of the lowly. He had a large frame and mighty passions, but they were under absolute control."

A man of ability and character may for a time be left in the shade, but opportunity for effective action is sure to come to him who earnestly works and patiently waits. Mr. Chase had abundant opportunity to demonstrate his ability, and to prove his courage in the face of mobs, and to show his self-sacrificing devotion to truth and right while he was the voluntary defender of the enslaved race without expecta-

tion of fee or reward. Finally the opportunity came to display the same ability, courage and devotion upon more conspicuous fields.

In the winter of 1837, or fifty years ago, at the trial of the Matilda case, already mentioned, a medical student, then attending lectures at the Cincinnati Medical College, was present and attentively listened to all the proceedings. Being an earnest abolitionist, he was deeply moved by the unhappy position of the poor slave girl, and was especially indignant at what he regarded as the specious argument and bold assumptions of the attorney for the claimant. The defense for the slave-girl was conducted by a young attorney whose evident sympathy, sincerity and masterly ability, however it may have failed to affect the Court, filled the mind of that medical student with the highest admiration. Although old enough to have voted at one or two previous elections, he had refused to support the candidates of either of what he regarded as pro-slavery parties; but after hearing the argument of the young attorney and learning his name, he said, "There is a man I can and will vote for whenever I have the opportunity." That young attorney, I scarcely need to say, was S. P. Chase; that medical student was the writer of this paper. Before the opportunity came to vote for Mr. Chase he had met that gentlemen several times at anti-slavery conventions, particularly at one held in Columbus in December, 1841, at which the Liberty Party of Ohio was organized, and again at the Free Soil Convention at Buffalo in 1848.

How the opportunity to vote for Mr. Chase finally came will be briefly stated. In 1848, after that student had become a physician and surgeon in busy practice, he was nominated and elected to the lower branch of the General Assembly of Ohio by the Free Soil men of Lorain County, and by them instructed as their Representative, when in the Legislature, "to act with any party, or against any party, as in his judgment the cause of freedom should require." When the time arrived for the Legislature to meet, it was found that the House could not organize, on account of a

difference between the Whig and Democratic parties—growing out of a division of Hamilton County for election purposes, which the Whig party, being in a majority in a previous Legislature, had made — both parties having claimants for two seats. There were also other contested seats in the House, and besides these the election for Governor had not yet been decided. After a long struggle, when both branches of the General Assembly were finally organized, this was found to be their political complexion: In the Senate the Whigs and Democrats were a tie — Senator Randall, a Free Soil Whig, was elected Speaker. In the House the Democrats lacked one of having half the members; the Whigs adding several Free Soil men who had been elected by the aid of Whig votes, also lacked one of having half the members. Besides the Democrats, Whigs and Free Soilers already mentioned, there were two Free Soil members — Col. John F. Morse, of Lake County, and Dr. N. S. Townshend, of Lorain County — who had been elected in opposition to candidates of both Whig and Democratic parties, and were therefore independent of both. Before the House was organized all the anti-slavery members came together for a conference or caucus. A gentleman of large political influence, though not a member of either branch, had been invited to be present and give to the conference the benefit of his counsel. He urged upon the members of the conference the importance of perfect agreement among themselves as affording the only hope of securing any anti-slavery legislation, or the election of any anti-slavery man to the United States Senate. A resolution was then introduced pledging each member of the conference to vote upon all occasions as a majority of the conference should direct. To this obligation most of those present agreed. Dr. Townshend refused to give the requisite pledge, because eleven of the thirteen Free Soil members present were, to a greater or less extent, under obligations to the Whig party, and it appeared evident to him that such a pledge would compel him to act only with the Whig party, and contrary to the instructions of his constituents. Col. Morse took a

similar view of the situation, and also declined to give any pledge, believing, with his Free Soil colleague, that if the Whig party could not be induced to support anti-slavery men or measures, there might be a possibility of obtaining aid from the Democratic party. It should be understood that an anti-slavery and progressive spirit had begun to be manifest among some of the members of that party. In the State of New York this was still more apparent, anti-slavery Democrats being there known as Barn-burners, in distinction from the unprogressive wing of the party who were known as Hunkers. In Ohio many young Democrats were participating in anti-slavery movements under the name of the Free Democracy. At the close of the conference referred to a resolution was introduced to exclude Morse and Townshend from future consultations. This served to convince those gentlemen that they occupied a common position, and must in future act together and independently of others. Had they submitted to the demands of the caucus, the Whig party would at once have secured the ascendancy, and probably little or no anti-slavery progress would have been made.

Some time after this Mr. Chase came to Columbus to argue a case before the Supreme Court. He was waited upon by Morse and Townshend, and requested to draft a bill for the repeal of the Black Laws. This he did, and the bill was promptly introduced in the House by Col. Morse. The Black Laws, very properly so called, prohibited the settlement of black or mulatto persons in Ohio unless they could show a certificate of their freedom, and obtain two freeholders to give security for their good behavior and maintenance in the event of their becoming a public charge. And unless this certificate of freedom was duly recorded and produced, it was made a penal offense for any white person to give employment to a black or mulatto. The common school system of Ohio made provision for white children only, and the children of black or mulatto persons were excluded from all the common schools. Worst of all, no black or mulatto person could be sworn or allowed to testify before any Court in the State in any case where a white person was

a party. This exposed colored people to all sorts of wrongs, and left them without legal protection.

The arrangement by which these Black Laws were repealed and Mr. Chase elected to the Senate of the United States was as follows: Wm. Allen was the choice of the Democrats for Senator, while Thomas Ewing was the choice of the Whigs. Most of the Free Soil members, with Col. Morse, preferred Joshua R. Giddings, then Representative in Congress from Morse's district, and Townshend preferred Mr. Chase, but both of these Independent Free Soilers cared more for the election to the Senate of some reliable and strong anti-slavery man, than for that of any particular individual. Col. Morse was therefore authorized by Townshend to propose to Whig members that if they would first aid in the repeal of the Black Laws and then in the election of Mr. Giddings to the Senate, he and his colleague would vote for the Whig candidates for the Supreme Bench, who at that time were chosen by the General Assembly. Dr. Townshend was authorized by Col. Morse to make an equivalent proposition to Democrats, to the effect that if they would first aid in the repeal of the Black Laws and in the election of Mr. Chase to the Senate, then the two Independent Free Soil members would aid in electing the Democratic nominees for the Supreme Bench. Both political parties were especially solicitous to secure a majority of the Supreme Court, because it was thought probable that questions growing out of the division of Hamilton County might come before that Court for final adjudication. A large majority of the Whig members were willing to accept the proposition made to them by Col. Morse; a few members, understood to be only four, knowing the hostility of their constituents to the anti-slavery views of Mr. Giddings, or for other reasons, refused their assent to the arrangement. The proposition made by Dr. Townshend to the Democratic members was accepted; Col. Morse's bill to provide schools for colored children, and to repeal all previous acts or parts of acts making distinctions on account of color, passed the House as drafted. The Senate made two or three changes in

the bill which were not amendments. When the Senate and House came together in joint convention, Mr. Chase was elected Senator on the fourth ballot, and two of the Democratic candidates for the Supreme Bench were afterwards elected. Fortunately for anti-slavery progress, the Democratic party had at that time several popular candidates for the two judgeships, and to avoid controversy between their friends the two Free Soilers were allowed their choice from the number. Whatever of praise or of blame attached to the agreement, coalition or bargain, by which the Black Laws were repealed and Mr. Chase elected to the Senate, the entire responsibility rests with Morse and Townshend. Mr. Chase neither suggested nor directed the arrangement. While he expressed hearty approval of what related to Mr. Giddings, he certainly used no dishonorable or even questionable means to secure the actual result. That this was well understood at the time may be inferred from the fact that after serving the State for six years in the Senate, he was twice elected for Governor by the people, and then a second time elected by the Legislature to the United States Senate.

In the Senate, from 1849 to 1855, Mr. Chase vigorously opposed the repeal of what was known as the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which entitled the Free States to insist that all territory north of 36° 30′ should forever remain free from slavery. He also insisted that slavery, which was exclusively a State institution, should be excluded from all National territory. This was the question in controversy when Kansas was settled, where the battle for freedom was fought by plucky emigrants from Ohio and other free States; and it was fought with equal courage by Chase, and Sumner, and Hale, and Wade in the Senate. Mr. Chase opposed the Fugitive Law with equal earnestness. This villainous enactment not only made of the Free States a hunting ground for runaways, but appointed official miscreants to aid in their capture, and bribed them to enslave free persons by allowing twice as much in fees for those consigned to slavery as for those that could not be so disposed of. Mr. Chase

made the best of the opportunity thus afforded to do battle for the right. He disregarded alike the suggestions of self-interest and of personal danger, and evidently endeavored to live up to the rule, "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might."

Before Mr. Chase's Senatorial term had expired, he was elected Governor of Ohio. Soon after assuming the duties of that office he was compelled to give attention to several fugitive slave cases. Both legal ability and firmness were necessary in his attempts to secure justice for the fugitives, and to fulfill the constitutional obligations of Ohio to other States. The defalcation of Breslin, a former State Treasurer, which came to light during Mr. Chase's administration, required prompt action on the part of the Governor, who was found equal to the occasion, which gave him an opportunity to show that he had no tolerance for official rascality. Before his term of office had expired, he was renominated and again elected Governor. During his second term of office he gave earnest attention to an important measure which had much to do with the part Ohio was able to take in suppressing the slaveholders' rebellion. Anticipating the final struggle, as many anti-slavery men did, he saw the importance of having the militia of the State in an effective condition. At his earnest recommendation, in 1857, an act was passed by the General Assembly of Ohio which at once had the effect to put the militia upon a better footing. In the summer of 1858 Mr. Chase ordered a review of all the State militia, and many companies of infantry and artillery were brought together at Columbus. A volume of military regulations and tactics was also ordered to be published. The anti-slavery agitation was gradually becoming more and more intense. John Brown made his attack upon Harper's Ferry, and following this, Governor Wise, of Virginia, expressed by letter to Mr. Chase his determination to pursue any such organizations if necessary into neighboring States, and to punish their abettors where he could find them. To this communication Mr. Chase replied that Ohio would fulfil her obligations to other States, but would not permit the invasion

of her territory by bodies of armed men from other States under any pretense whatever. Near the expiration of his second term as Governor, he was, on the second of February, 1860, re-elected to the Senate of the United States.

In 1861, when several of the Southern States had signified their intention of seceding from the Union unless allowed to extend slavery into the territories recently acquired from Mexico, the Legislature of Virginia invited the authorities of other States to appoint commissioners to meet at Washington and attempt to adjust the unhappy differences in a spirit of compromise. Seven slave States and fourteen free States responded to the invitation, Mr. Dennison, then Governor, appointing Mr. Chase and six able associates on behalf of Ohio. At the conference it was soon seen that the commissioners from the slave States would expect inadmissible concessions. Mr. Chase and his associates therefore proposed to refer all matters of difference to a convention of all the States. In an address to the conference he warned the commissioners from the Slave states that "on the coming fourth of March Mr. Lincoln will be inaugurated, and will take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States — of all the United States, and that oath will bind him to take care that the laws are faithfully executed throughout the United States. Will secession absolve him from that oath? If the President does his duty, and secession or revolution result, what then? Civil war! Let us not plunge headlong into that unfathomable gulf," etc. Such faithful words had little effect, and the conference was ended without apparent beneficial result.

Two days after Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, Mr. Chase was nominated for Secretary of the Treasury. He had no aspirations for such a position, but his sense of duty to the country would not allow him to decline the appointment. Few persons can know the anxiety and labor which the office at that time involved. The whole country now seems to be agreed in regard to the ability, the absolute integrity, and the success with which its important duties were discharged. On this point an item of testimony from an unprejudiced

source may possibly be of interest. Upon the only occasion when the writer of this paper was under the necessity of taking command of an armed steamer, a Confederate battery was captured, and, with other officers and men, a rebel paymaster. This occurred upon the Mississippi River toward the close of 1863. The paymaster had already become discouraged at the prospects of the Confederacy; for, while he claimed that the Confederates had far better officers and equally as good soldiers, he said that the result of this conflict would not depend alone upon the fighting qualities of the combatants. "The Federals," he said, "have for their Secretary of the Treasury, S. P. Chase, a man who has the public confidence to such an extent that not only are the present resources of the whole North at his command, but he can borrow all the money he needs upon favorable terms. The Confederacy has in a corresponding position an officer who inspires no such confidence, and who can scarcely borrow a dollar even at the most ruinous rates. If the conflict could be decided at once, and by bullets alone, the Confederates would have a fair prospect of success, but it is plain enough that it will not be so decided; but that the government which can longest feed, and clothe, and equip its men is certain to succeed, and therefore the Confederacy has no possible chance."

In consequence of want of agreement between himself and the President in regard to the appointment of his assistants, in June, 1864, Mr. Chase resigned the Secretaryship of the Treasury. In December of the same year he was nominated by Mr. Lincoln to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. His confirmation by the Senate was immediate, and without the usual formality of a reference. If this position had been at any time the object of his ambition, it finally came to him without personal seeking. That he was eminently fitted for the place few doubted; and that he honored the office as much as he was honored by it was generally believed. This responsible position he held until his death, on the seventh of May, 1873, at the age of sixty-five years.

That Mr. Chase aspired to the Presidency in 1860, and again in 1864, is believed, and that many of his friends who knew him best earnestly desired to see him in that position is certainly true. They believed that he had the legal knowledge, the good judgment, and the courage to do his whole duty in any emergency. Many of the early anti-slavery men were dissatisfied with what they regarded as the extreme caution of Mr. Lincoln. With this feeling Mr. Chase probably sympathized; that he would have acted much more promptly than Mr. Lincoln did on many occasions may be regarded as certain. What the final result of such a course might have been none can tell. Referring to these aspirations, Mr. Justice Mathews, on the occasion already referred to, when the remains of Mr. Chase were taken to Spring Grove Cemetery, said: "Mr. Chase was ambitious in this sense alone: that there was, as he believed, a work for him to do that he was called to perform, and that he could do that work better than any man he knew. It was an honest ambition; it was a noble ambition; it was, as has been said to his credit, a God-fearing ambition; for every purpose of his life, every object set before himself for achievement, was taken and prosecuted under the most solemn sense of his responsibility to Him whom alone he acknowledged as the Master of Man."

Of Mr. Chase's beautiful, though sorrowful, family life the writer of this paper can say but little. In 1834 Mr. Chase was married to Miss Garniss, and in 1835 he was left a widower. In 1839 he was married to Miss Smith, and in 1845 he was again a widower. He was a third time married, in 1846, to Miss Ludlow, and in 1852 he was called to mourn her loss. Of six children, only two accomplished and beautiful daughters were left to grace his home.

In many respects the life of Mr. Chase illustrates what is true in the life of nearly every great and good man. In the first place, as we have seen, he had ability; and we may pause a moment to inquire whether that ability was a natural gift or the result of laborious, persistent training. While believing that there are original differences, and that some may

achieve a success for which others would strive in vain, stil it is true that every man is largely the maker of himself. If we ask how this is done, the life of Mr. Chase supplies the answer — only by well-directed and persistent work. Then ability alone, without character, will be likely to prove a disappointment or a snare. A man must have character; he must be true, and pure, and good; true to himself, to his own ideal, or he cannot respect himself, and will not be likely to secure the respect of others; his life must be pure or he cannot trust himself, nor can others trust him; and he must be good or considerate of the rights and happiness of others, and kindly sympathetic and helpful. Such a character will rarely fail to win what it secured for Mr. Chase — the perfect confidence and highest esteem of all who thoroughly knew him. The possession of ability and character is almost certain to be recognized and in demand for important service; for, bad as the world sometimes appears to be, it rarely fails to see that goodness is more trustworthy than its opposite; so that a man with ability and character is sure to find opportunity to do good, if not in the field he prefers, yet in some field where he may work with pleasure and success. How strikingly was this illustrated in the life of Mr. Chase? He worked and patiently waited until opportunity came. Had he sat still and waited, probably the opportunity would never have come; but, when he became known, high and responsible duties were almost thrust upon him.

In closing, we will again use the language of Justice Mathews: "The character and life, and public and private history of Mr. Chase are worthy the study of every young American, that he may imitate the example of his private conduct, and seek to emulate his public career; for there is nothing more astonishing than a contemplation of the interesting and important public events which constitute the history of our people and Nation from the period when Mr. Chase first became known in Cincinnati, the city of his adoption."

N. S. Townshend.

BLENNERHASSETT.[1]

By E. O. Randall.

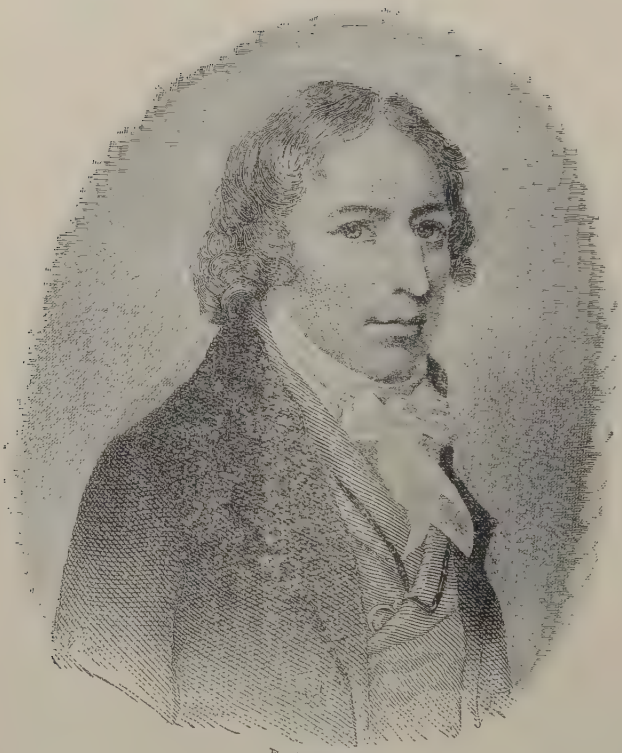
I. BLENNERHASSETT.

Truth is not only stranger than fiction, but often sadder than the grimmest fancy can portray. Few pages of American history present more of the picturesque, and none offer so much of the pitiful, as do those that tell the story of Blennerhassett. This man, whom Parton, the would-be whitewasher of Aaron Burr, calls "eccentric, romantic, idle, and shiftless," descended from choice Irish stock. The source of his blood is traced to the times of King John. Harman Blennerhassett, with whom we have to do, was the youngest of three sons of wealthy and noble parents, residing in Conway castle, Kerry County, Ireland. The year of his birth, like that of Bonaparte, is in dispute. They were born near the same time, Blennerhassett in Hampshire, England, where his mother was temporarily visiting, any year from 1764 to 1767, according to the biographer you prefer to believe. Being the youngest son, he was by the laws of primogeniture destined to a profession; and as his boyish mind showed a decidedly bright and bookish bent, his father took particular pains with his education. He was early placed in the celebrated school at Westminster, England, where he evidenced a special talent for the classics. In due time he entered Trinity College, Dublin, from which he graduated, sharing distinguished honors with his classmate and life-long friend, Thomas Addis Emmet, afterwards the heroic Irish patriot and orator. These two continued their law studies together at King's Inn Courts, Dublin, and on the same day, in 1790, were admitted to practice at the Irish bar. Having creditably completed his course of legal and literary studies, as was the custom of the favored few, he rounded out his education with a continental tour. He did Europe, and in the summer of 1790 arrived in Paris, whence

[1]Read before the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, November 19th, 1886.

the rumblings of the revolution were beginning to resound around the world. He was present at the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile, and was spectator of the stirring scenes in the space of the Champ de Mars at the festival of the Confederation, when, in the presence of the electors, the Parisian guard, the deputies of the new departments, the members of the National Assembly, and five hundred thousand spectators, Louis XVI swore allegiance to the newly framed Constitution. This stirring and significant event wrought a great influence upon the sentiments and convictions of young Blennerhassett. He had already read and imbibed the writings of Voltaire and Rosseau, and, like many another young Irishman, he returned to his miserable country, with its tedious tale of oppression and injustice at the hands of England, with his heart glowing with the principles of revolt and republicanism. He cared not for political preferment, professional honor, or social rank. Being in comfortable circumstances, heir expectant to a large inheritance, and disregarding the distinction or income to be derived from the practice at the bar, he followed his inclinations, and gave himself to the study of the sciences, music and literature.

After the death of his father, in 1796, coming into posses sion of an estate valued at $100,000. he moved to England, and married a Miss Margaret Agnew, destined to figure among the most conspicuous and brilliant of the heroines of American history. She was the daughter of Captain Agnew, a celebrated British naval officer, and Lieutenant Governor of the Isle of Man. She was the grand-daughter of General James Agnew, who commanded a British brigade in the American Revolution; was with Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, and was killed while valiantly fighting at the battle of Germantown. Two sisters of Blennerhassett married, respectively, the English Lord Kingsdale, and Admiral Coursey. Blennerhassett, though closely allied by marriage, relationship and social rank to the nobility of Ireland and England, had become a republican, and looked with longing eyes toward America, which had shaken off the



Eng^d by A.H. Ritchie

Hav^n Blenkhopeth

distasteful chaperonage of the mother country, and was leading the nations in the onward march of independence and popular liberty. He sold his estate in Ireland, and proceeded to London, where he purchased a large library of books and a very extensive set of chemical and philosophical apparatus. With his wife and this outfit he sailed for New York, in which city he arrived in the fall of 1797. His wealth, rank and social attainments gave him easy *entree* to circles of the first American families. But he had been allured by the reports concerning the boundless West, romantic in scenery, rich in soil, and prolific in the productions that secure wealth and stimulate the progress of civilization. Crossing the rugged Alleghenies to Pittsburgh, he loaded his goods upon one of the crude and cumbersome flatboats which in those days afforded the only means of transportation. He floated with the current down the Ohio to the town of Marietta, then the most important and promising settlement between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, and the commercial and intellectual center of the colony known as the Ohio Company, which had emigrated from New England but a few years before, and comprised the sturdy stock of Massachusetts and Connecticut Puritans. Blennerhassett, with his wife, passed the winter of 1797–8 amid the enjoyments which this little primitive city had to offer, and in prospecting for a site upon which to locate his own western home. He finally decided to purchase a plantation on an island in the Ohio river, fourteen miles below Marietta and the mouth of the Muskingum river, and two miles below that of the Little Kanawha,— an island situate in the middle of the stream between what is now Wood County, West Virginia, and Washington County, Ohio, its upper or eastern end lying almost opposite the pretty little village of Belpre.

This historic island had originally belonged to George Washington, who in 1770 located it with a large tract of land lying in Virginia, to which State it has always been tributary. It was first surveyed in 1784 on a land warrant issued some four years previous. In 1786, in accordance with a patent made out by Patrick Henry when he was

Governor of Virginia, the island was ceded to Alexander Nelson, of Richmond, Virginia. By the latter it was sold to James Herron, of Norfolk, Va., who in 1797 transferred it to Elijah Backus, of Norwich, Conn., a member of the Ohio Company. The price paid at this sale was £250 Virginia currency, or about $883 present money. The island is about three and a half-miles long, and spectacle-shaped, being one-half mile wide at either end, and narrowing in the center to a width only sufficient to permit a wagon road. It contains two hundred and ninety-seven acres. In March, 1798, Mr. Blennerhassett bought, for the sum of $4,500. from Mr. Backus, 170 acres, comprising the eastern lobe. Soon after, he moved with his wife and one child to his new possession, living temporarily in a large old stockade fort which had been erected by Captain James, and used as a retreat during the Indian wars.

The location and form of this island is more pleasing and attractive than it is possible to imagine. No pen picture can overportray its picturesqueness. The isle lies in midstream of the majestic Ohio, dividing its current equally on either side. Just above Belpre the wide, serene river curves to the north, revealing beyond its waters a distant landscape of vale and hill that recedes in most pleasing perspective. To the south of the island rise the Virginia hills, forest-clad and rock-studded, in some points presenting almost a palisade. On the north or Ohio shore lie along the river's edge the level and extensive meadows of Belpre, backed by a range of elevations that gently enclose the view. We confess that the resplendent descriptions concerning this island had aroused our incredulity respecting their accuracy until a personal view dissolved all doubts. We stood on this island at the hour of sunset, one brilliant October day, and we willingly testify to the superb splendor of the landscape. The distant view up the river, the bluffs crowned by the town of Parkersburg, forming the gateway to the Little Kanawha, the nearer Virginia hills, brilliant with the autumn tinted foliage, the broad, beautiful river, and the shapely island rising from the water with sloping shores, shaded by

tall white sycamores, elms and locusts, form a scene surely suited to fan the fancy of the poet and stir the sentiment of the artist.

Blennerhassett, with the potent touch of wealth and taste, transformed this interesting island into a princely park of beauty and luxury. Near the upper end in the center, upon the summit, to which the ascent is gradual on either side, and facing up the river, was built the magnificent mansion that excited the amazement of every passing spectator, and the envy of every fortunate visitor. Economy was not consulted in its construction. It consisted of a main building, fifty-two feet in length, thirty feet in width and two stories high. Porticos forty feet long stretched out in the form of wings from either side like semi-circular arms, thus giving an entire frontage to the edifice of 110 feet. The building, in order to withstand earthquakes, which, with thunderstorms, were the special dread of Blennerhassett, who with marvelous lack of foresight, disregarded fire and flood, the first of which destroyed his home, while the second often submerged his island, was built entirely of wood, in as artistic a style as the architecture of the new country could suggest. It was painted white and green, colors symbolizing the purity, and also, perhaps, the verdancy of those times. The space in front of the building, occupying several acres, and stretching in an easy slope to the water's edge, was allotted to the lawn — with its gravel walks, carriage ways, stately stone-column gateway; its hawthorn hedges, its rustic arbors and sylvan grottoes; its grass plats and flower fields, with their strange shrubs and rare plants. Back of the house lay the kitchen garden, in which were raised all the delicacies for the table. Beyond were the peach, apple and fruit orchards, adjoining which was the farm, whose fertile soil, enriched by the alluvial deposit of the river, produced luxuriant growths of all varieties. A large corps of help was required to care for and carry on this vast establishment. The farmers, gardeners and butlers were selected for their known proficiency, and were all experts in their vocations, some of them having had experience in the lordly homes of England.

Ten slaves were purchased to act as valets, hostlers and boatmen. The interior finishing and furnishing of the house was in keeping with its magnitude. Foreign frescoers colored the ceilings and placed the plaster cornices and ornaments. The walls were hung with costly pictures, and the furniture, imported from Paris and London, was rich, costly, and tasteful. Splendid mirrors, gay-colored carpets, and elegant curtains embellished the apartments; massive silver plate stood upon the sideboard. The drawing-room resembled the richest Parisian *salon* in the heyday of the Louis. The spacious hall was specially contrived to give excellent effect to musical sounds; the library was ample and luxurious, and a large apartment was designed for the scientific apparatus, in the use of which Mr. Blennerhassett was such an enthusiast. Such was the far-famed Blennerhassett home, costing more than forty thousand dollars, in those times a stupendous outlay. If we could by some magic wand recall it from oblivion back to vision, doubtless we would smile in derision at the furore it excited in its time. Imbedded in the rural retreat of the wild west, as if dropped from fairy land, this sumptuous abode must have indeed appeared little less than the eighth wonder of the world. Every traveler testifies that it was the most royal residence west of the Alleghenies. Here, from 1799 to 1807, lived the family, with all the joy, contentment, tranquility, and pleasure possible to them. Imagination can hardly conceive a more ideal home or more Utopian existence.

In figure, we are told, Blennerhassett was about six feet tall, of slender build, stooping shoulders, and awkward carriage. As we learn from an inspection of his different portraits, he had a full and well formed forehead, high cheek bones, stately nose, large blue eyes, narrow, timid chin. I think a phrenologist would accord him feeling, sympathy, benevolence, and seriousness, but little of energy, force, ambition, or sagacity. He was reputed to have been generous to a fault, hospitable to those he liked, haughty to others. He was amiable and retiring in disposition, and, as we have already inferred, sedentary and studious in his habits.

THE HOME OF BLENNERHASSETT.

Possessed of a high sense of honor, credulous to a ridiculous degree, he was admirably fitted to be the victim of some shrewd schemer. His mind had a certain intellectual cast, was busy, but fickle and aimless. He took extreme enjoyment in scientific investigation, in which his large library, ample apparatus and leisure time gave him full opportunity to indulge. Chemistry, electricity, astronomy, microscopy, were alternately objects of his study. As a musician he had the nicest taste, and not a little genius. He was an accomplished player on the bass viol and violoncello, and was the author of many compositions, some of which, we have been told, became popular in the social circles of the early settlers upon the Ohio banks. He was a great reader blessed with a remarkable memory, and, as we know, skilled in the classics, being able to repeat the whole of Homer's Iliad in the original Greek. He was thoroughly versed in English law, studied medicine, and for a pastime and the benefit of his neighbors, often prescribed for the sick. With a mind so rarely stored, and good conversational powers, he was an entertaining companion and popular host. Such was Blennerhassett, self-banished from the world of action, to what he supposed was a sure and safe seclusion.

If his person and character deserve attention, how much more so does that of his wife, one of the most remarkable women of her time, and indeed of all American history Safford says: "History affords but few instances where so much feminine beauty, physical endurance, and many social virtues, were combined in one female." She was a born princess in form, features, accomplishment, manner, and disposition. Her figure was of a commanding height, symmetrically proportioned, lithe and agile. Her features, moulded in the Grecian type, were perfect and fair, embellished by a complexion whose "carnation hue health and the hand of nature alone had painted." Her dark blue eyes, beaming "forth from beneath the long brown lashes, which hung as a curtain to conceal their charms," gave a spirited and sprightly tone to her countenance. Her dark brown hair, profuse and glossy, was usually worn in some striking

style, or hidden in a head dress of rich-colored silk stuff, folded and worn like a Turkish turban. She was always attired in exquisite taste, and her appearance under every circumstance was refined but radiant. But her charms were not solely external. She was not only handsome in form and beautiful in feature, but talented, and trained in mind. Every attention had been bestowed on her education; she spoke and wrote fluently the Italian and French languages. She was widely read in history and English literature, was an enthusiastic Shakespearean scholar, and her skill in rhetorical recitation was so wonderful that it is claimed by those that had met them both, that the distinguished Mrs. Sarah Siddons could scarcely rehearse dramatic parts with more power. She cultivated a taste for poetry, and some of her printed productions are still extant, and fully substantiate the praise placed upon her productions in this line. She, too, was a finished musician, and danced, says Hildreth in his history, "with the grace and lightness of the queen of the fairies." She delighted in outdoor exercise—hunting, boating and walking. Possessing a vigorous constitution, buoyant spirits and personal activity, she often made a pedestrian tour of ten or even twenty miles, "with as much ease as other ladies would make a few village calls." In these excursions she would leap logs and bushes like an athlete, and could vault with ease and grace a five-rail fence with the mere aid of one hand placed upon the top rail. She was an expert equestrienne, always riding a very spirited horse, often making the ride from the island to Marietta, a distance of fourteen miles, in two hours. But there is still more to relate of this extraordinary woman, whom Wm. Wirt, in his oration, says, "was lovely, even beyond her sex, and graced with every accomplishment that can render it irresistible." Her education was not solely ornamental. She was skilled in all the arts of housewifery, and was so excellent a seamstress that she cut out and sewed with her own hands much of the clothing for her husband, children and self. She was an adept in the kitchen, generally preparing the more delicate dishes for the table. She directed every detail in the

management of her home. She was marvelously industrious and systematic, wisely apportioning her time between household cares, social amusements, and outdoor exercises. Her aims were lofty and ambitious, and in this she was in striking contrast to her easy-going, self-contented husband. She was the admiration of all who met her, and her reputation was far and wide. Perhaps the only other woman to be compared to her, in character and accomplishments, was Theodosia Burr; and it is singular that fate was soon to bring them together and ingulf them in one common pitfall.

The Blennerhassetts were extravagant entertainers; their house was the favorite rendezvous of such society as this undeveloped, almost undiscovered, country presented, and there were dinners to distinguished guests traveling down the river; there were evening parties to the young people of Belpre and Marietta. It must have been a singular sight to behold the house illumined some evening with its extra fine wax candles; the assemblage of the jolly and gay couples in their party clothes, to witness the games in the parlor, the music in the halls, the dancing on the porch; all elegant and refined, and sumptuous as some New York or London reception, and all this on the lonely, isolated island in the heart of a country which as yet had no towns, no taverns, no ferries, no roads.

With the best information at our elbow that can be obtained, we have thus endeavored, in what may appear high-wrought colors, to picture to you what Blennerhassett Island was in the days that made it memorable. This is the first scene, and we now have to turn our attention to another character in this drama—for drama it is, and a sad one.

II. AARON BURR.

So fascinating and seductive a personage is Aaron Burr, and so dazzling is his career with what Emerson calls the "glamor of romance," that the instant we come within the spell of his presence we are sorely tempted to drop the thread of our story and linger amid the memorable doings of this brilliant, exalted, and notorious scoundrel. In ability, ambi-

tion, chivalric carriage, invincible courage, military genius, readiness and resolution, perseverance, fortitude, and intrepidity; in personal magnetism, political diplomacy, social entertainment, and in diabolical deception and duplicity, Burr was the Napoleon of American history. In manner and morals Chesterfield was his model. In purposes and methods of accomplishment the little Corporal of Corsica was his ideal. Burr was by his birth justly entitled not only to great mental gifts, but also the highest-bred character and loftiest aspirations. His father was a learned and distinguished clergyman and the first president of Princeton College. His mother, one of the noblest of her sex, was daughter of Jonathan Edwards, who was a prolific writer, the second president of Princeton, and who, perhaps, more than any other divine, stamped the impress of his dogmatic and peculiar thought upon the early theology of our country. Burr's parents and grandparents died before he was three years of age, leaving him heir to an ample fortune and to the care of wise guardians. He was an impetuous and independent boy, original, restless and versatile. The very best education of his day was his. Before he was twenty he had graduated at college, studied theology and law, and waded through a wide range of general reading. When the news of Lexington electrified the country, he threw aside his books and joined the Continental army. He possessed every quality that constitutes the successful soldier, and, as if in accordance with the eternal fitness of things and the natural gravitation of likes to each other, Aaron Burr became aid-de-camp to Benedict Arnold, and accompanied the subsequent traitor in his bold expedition for the conquest of Canada. There was no braver or more sagacious officer than Burr. He became captain, major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel, and was assigned to the staff of Washington. But in the presence and under the watchfulness of the sterling and spotless Washington, the crafty and cunning Burr was ill at ease. He could not brook the blunt, straightforward dictation of the commander-in-chief, who, this stripling declared, was a bad, slow general, and an honest but weak man. Washington, on the other hand, in

his innate probity and instinctive insight, discovered Burr's true character, and ever kept a wary eye upon his course. He was transferred to the staff of General Putnam, and did valiant service on the active field, often marshaling a brigade and directing the battle against the British. For four years he was a most prominent commander among those who led the American forces. But he was ever found among the mischief-makers. He was a conspicuous Cassius in the cabals plotted by the jealous generals against Washington. Parton pertinently remarks that if Burr had been born in France he would have become the greatest of Napoleon's marshals. Burr's last act as an American soldier was to aid Benedict Arnold's wife to escape through the American lines to join her husband.

Leaving the army, he took up his home in New York City, and entered upon the practice of law, in which profession his progress was phenomenal. It was his inflexible rule never to undertake a case that he did not feel absolutely sure of winning, and he always won. As a lawyer, he was indefatigably industrious; he was alert, adroit, unscrupulous in the employment of expedient or legal ruse, and once entered upon a case, he was bound to triumph "by hook or crook"—by any technicality that lay within his reach. In serving his client he was morally obtuse, and regarded the profession as a field in which subtlety and strategy would win in spite of justice. He had an immense and lucrative practice, and shared with Alexander Hamilton the honor of being the leader of the New York bar. He had neither the honesty nor the patriotism to be a statesman, but he was a most proficient politician. Possessing a keen knowledge of men, their vanities and ambitions, he knew how, with Machiavellian tact, to convince, coax or cajole, as occasion required. He naturally belonged to the popular side, and was fiercely opposed to the Federalists, of whom Alexander Hamilton was in New York the zealous and undisputed champion. Burr was the first efficient leader the Republicans had within their ranks. He was powerful, not only in a party sense, but because possessed of a large and faithful

accompaniment of personal adherents. They were mostly gay, aggressive young men, who were attracted to Burr by his brilliancy and boldness, and who cared less for party principles than for victory and glory. They could be depended on to follow Burr at his merest beck, and, after the rough and ready troops of Achilles, they were styled Burr's "Myrmidons." Theodosia, his daughter, called them the Tenth Legion.

In 1784 Burr entered the New York Legislature; in 1790 he became Attorney General of the State; in 1791 he was chosen United States Senator from New York. At the fourth presidential election Burr was the factor that overthrew the Federal force which, until that date, had held control of the Government. The electors at that time were chosen, not by direct popular vote, but by the state legislatures. The political complexion of the states was such that New York held the balance of power; New York was controlled by the city vote. Burr and his Myrmidons carried the city for the Republicans, the state legislature was Republican, and for the first time New York selected Republican electors. After the result of the New York election was known, the Republican Congressmen caucused, and named Jefferson as candidate for President, and, on account of his services in securing their triumph, named Burr candidate for Vice President. Up to 1804, however, the electors did not vote for President and Vice President separately, but each elector deposited two names in a box, and the name receiving the largest vote was declared President, and the next largest Vice President. The electors chosen, Burr permitted himself to be a candidate for the highest office, and maneuvered among the electors of the various states to obtain the greatest vote. The result of the ballot gave Jefferson and Burr each seventy-three votes. The election was thus thrown into the House of Representatives, which votes in such a case by states. After a contest of seven days, and more intriguing by Burr, Jefferson was declared President and Burr Vice President. Burr's treachery to his party and to Jefferson divided the one and alienated the other. He was a

doomed man, but persistently expended the influence of his office to aid him in winning the higher position at the next election. In 1804, before the Presidential election, he named himself as an independent candidate for governor of New York, against Morgan Lewis, the regular Republican candidate. There was no Federal ticket, but Alexander Hamilton, always the inveterate foe of Burr, whom he calls the Cataline of American politics, threw the Federal influence for Lewis, who was easily elected. Burr then challenged Hamilton to a duel; Hamilton was fool enough to accept, and was killed at the first shot. Burr was obliged for some time to flee from justice, and was only permitted to return to Washington to preside over the last session of the Senate, which tried Justice Chase for judicial irregularity.

Burr had lost, one after another, every support that held him in public confidence. His patriotism was suspected. He had sold and traded his party fealty for self advancement. He was notoriously corrupt in private morals. He had squandered his property in politics and extravagant living, and was overwhelmed in debt. He was hated and dreaded by his foes, the Federalists; he was mistrusted by his Republican friends; he had murdered one of the greatest statesmen of his time, and he was wanted for trial both in New York and New Jersey. In fact, he was morally, socially, politically, financially, a bankrupt, when, on March 2d, 1805, in Washington, the eighth Congress closed its deliberations, and in the senate chamber Aaron Burr, presiding officer of the highest legislative body, in a speech characterized by the elegance and eloquence of which he was capable, bade farewell to his fellow senators, and descended from the second highest office in the gift of the government, and also from the very pinnacle of party power, totally and forever to disappear from the field of politics, and to be buried beyond the hope of resurrection beneath the universal odium, obloquy, contempt and contumely of his fellow-countrymen. Like Wolsey, he "had trod the ways of glory, and sounded all the depths and shoals of honor," and, like the great Cardinal Minister at his fall, Burr, at this moment, "had

touched the full meridian of his glory, and hastened now to his setting." But he still "put forth the tender leaves of hope, and thought to-morrow would bring the blossom, and bear their blushing honors thick upon him," but just retribution brought to his ambition, which he could not fling away, naught but the chilling frost.

III. THE CONSPIRACY.

Says one of Burr's biographers: "Burr had the quickest, most active mind that ever animated five feet six inches of mortality." What will this restless, Mephistophelian spirit now find to do? His first shift was an attempt to get an appointment as United States Minister to France or Spain, and his friends, in urging him before the President, hinted that it would be wise to get Burr out of the country, where he could do no further mischief. But Jefferson would trust him nowhere, at home or abroad, and Burr, having lost his public occupation, and in reality an exile, his bosom burning with ambition, disappointment and revenge, turned his exhaustless energies toward the great West. That we may comprehend the cause and probable success of his designs in that direction, let us take a momentary glance at Western history.

From the time of the American revolution, and especially after the ratification of the federal constitution by the original thirteen states, down even to the admission of Louisiana, in 1812, there brooded over the country west of the Alleghenies a spirit of dissatisfaction, discontent, independence, and intrigue. This arose from many plausible causes. The governmental plant, so to speak, was that of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, and the Federal power and protection had mostly to deal with those states, which furnished the office-holders and derived the benefits, while the territory of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys, including the subsequent states of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Indiana, and others, was far from the seat of government, was uncultivated, unorganized, and poorly defended from the Indians on the south, and the foreign powers of England on

the north and Spain on the west. For Mexico, be it remembered, including what is now known as Texas, was, from the time Hernando Cortes drove the Montezumas from their throne, until 1808, governed by Spanish Viceroys sent from Madrid. The Mexicans, therefore, their province extending up and along the river from the gulf to St. Louis, controlled the navigation of the Mississippi, and were thus enabled to prohibit entirely or impose heavy duties on all western commerce seeking an outlet at New Orleans. The American settlers between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, it is thus seen, were hemmed in, and they sorely chafed under the pressure. They demanded that the Federal government seize Louisiana and expel the Mexicans from the Mississippi. But the young government seemed unable to do this, and perhaps never could, and thus arose a feeling of independence and an inclination to separate from the government altogether, and form a distinct national power, which would either conquer Louisiana and Mexico, or unite with the Spanish provinces and form one combined republic, or empire, as seemed most advantageous. For years there were plots and counterplots, in which the western Americans, the French and Spanish of Louisiana, and the foreign officers and native Mexicans, and even the French, English and Spanish governments took a hand. Volumes have been written recounting all these cabals and conspiracies. Kentucky and Tennessee were brooding-beds for these ideas of secession and separation, and moving slyly and stealthily through nearly all of them, like some mischief-making Iago, is the character of Gen. James Wilkinson, of whom we shall learn more hereafter.

Burr's romantic mind, his love for adventure, as well as his overweening ambition, had fed upon the knowledge of these shifting stratagems as they appeared and vanished. Moreover, we cannot but believe he was watching, not only with keenest interest, but with secret spirit of emulation, the unparalleled career of that "sublime rogue," Napoleon, who, from the ruins of a republic, was erecting an empire vast as the European continent itself. Burr's insatiable

ambition, his military genius, his greed for power and fame, were all aflame, and, intoxicated with the fumes of fancy, he dreamed that he could and would be sovereign of a new and mighty dominion. He would cross the Alleghenies, descend the Ohio, and in its valley rally the malcontents, the chivalrous, the adventurous; enlist the troops, organize a force, proceed down the Mississippi, occupy New Orleans, arouse an insurrectionary host in Louisiana, cross the river into Mexico, and, aided by the rebellious natives, drive out the Spanish rulers, enter the City of Mexico, declare himself Imperator of the independent kingdom, and seat himself upon the throne of the Montezumas. Then, swift as the eagles of the Roman legions, his untamed fancy sped on; he would annex the country of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and then, like another Cromwell or Napoleon, march to the capital of the United States, into the halls of Congress, overthrow the American republic, which had so ungratefully spurned him, and enstate himself as the central head of a great and glorious empire, extending from the lakes to the gulf, from the Atlantic to the Rocky mountains. The most erratic romance could reach no farther. It recalled the realizations of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Burr's own contemporary, Bonaparte.[1]

Thus Burr, misled by fancy's meteor ray, by passion driven, his vaulting ambition "pricking the sides of his intent," sets without delay about this tremendous, traitorous scheme. His ulterior purposes must, of course, be deftly concealed, and he veils them beneath the pretense of a prospecting tour through the West, ostensibly to find some locality where he can settle and practice law, and perhaps be returned as a delegate to Congress; or engage in some business enterprise, such as building a canal around the rapids of the Ohio, at Louisville; or enter some land speculation.

Within sixty days after retiring from the Senate, Burr was at Pittsburgh, in possession of a private flatboat, and on his

[1] Such, indeed, were the ulterior projects of Burr, as sworn to by Eaton in Burr's trial.

way floating down the Ohio at the usual current rate of eight miles an hour. Like every voyager of note, he stopped at the island of the Blennerhassetts, and was by them received as became so distinguished a caller as the late Vice President of the United States, and a politician who had been for the past ten years the most conspicuous figure in the public view. To a dangerous degree he was master of those powers of fascination attributed to Goethe, and which screened, if they did not excuse, the immoralities of Mirabeau, Rosseau, Byron and others. His love affairs were more numerous than his political escapades. Mrs. Blennerhassett was captivated at first sight, and her good-natured, credulous, generous, gullible husband unconditionally surrendered himself to the plausible, flattering wiles of the shrewd charlatan. As Wirt graphically describes, it was the entry of Satan into Eden. What more fitting place to hatch a conspiracy and set it afloat than on this secluded island, embedded and hidden in the bosom of the wild West, yet on the river, the easy and only avenue to the point of attack? Who better fitted to furnish the sinews of the expedition, and act the confederate, than Blennerhassett? Burr had found his prey, and the trap was cautiously set. Divulging but little about his designs, but having thoroughly ingratiated himself into the friendship and confidence of the unsuspecting host and hostess, Burr proceeded down the Ohio. His voyage was a continued series of ovations and triumphs. Burr had ever been an ardent advocate of war with Mexico; he had been the leader of the Republicans, who were in the West and South more numerous than the Federalists; his murder of Hamilton, while it ostracised him in the East, only added to his renown in the South, where the sentiment of chivalry was strong, and the duelling code in popular vogue. At Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, Nashville and other points, he was received like a conquering hero. Balls, banquets and dinners were given him, and the chivalry and beauty of the South flocked about him with every attention possible.

At Fort Massac, at the mouth of the Cumberland, he met

his old friend Wilkinson, with whom he had climbed the Heights of Abraham. Wilkinson's own principle of action, as he states in his memoirs, was this: "Some men are avaricious, some are vain, some are ambitious; to detect the predominant passion, to lay hold, and to make the most of it, is the most profound secret of political science." This policy Burr applied to its own promulgator. He knew Wilkinson of old; his vulnerable patriotism; his treasonable career; his ardent ambition; his wish to be regarded as the "Washington of the West." Wilkinson was now the commander-in-chief of the Western United States troops, and had just been appointed governor of the territory of Louisiana, then recently purchased by our government from France. He is engaged in settling the dispute with Spain in regard to the boundary line of Louisiana, and, having control of the army, and, situated on the frontier with military and civil powers, a veteran in Western intrigues,—he is absolutely necessary to Burr, and must be and is won with the flattering inducement that he shall be second in the great empire to be erected. He yields to Burr body and soul, furnishes him with a government transport and escort down the Mississippi, and supplies him with letters to leading men in New Orleans who are likely to be useful to them. At New Orleans Burr is welcomed with greater honors than elsewhere, Daniel Clark, the wealthy merchant and princely magnate of the city, is enlisted in the enterprise, and agrees to open his purse to any extent. Everything pointed propitiously; the idea of a war with Mexico was then immensely popular in the West and South, and the outbreak seemed unavoidable, because of the annexation of Louisiana and the boundary dispute. A war with Mexico was, of all things, what Burr desired, for it would give him a safe pretext for raising an expedition and making an incursion into Mexico. But Burr was not only quickwitted—he was long-headed, and, like an experienced general, proposed, as a *dernier resort*, a *bona fide* land speculation and colonization organization. Before the annexation of Louisiana, one Baron Bastrop had contracted with the Spanish government for a tract

of land on the Wachita river, between the Red and Sabine rivers, and consequently on the borders of Mexico (now Texas). Burr proposed to buy forty thousand acres of this for $40,000, and in 1806 did buy, paying $5,000 cash, and notes for the balance, all secured by friends in the East, Blennerhasset, Clarke and Alston aiding. Here the expedition, if it could go no farther, could settle, grow rich, and abide its time.

This preliminary trip, so promising, lasts from April to October, 1805, when Burr returns through the states to feel their sentiment, to Blennerhassett Island, and now he unfolds his plans. He rouses in Blennerhassett's bosom the expectations of great gains in the Bastrop land purchase, poisons his patriotism with the fable about the weakness of the Federal government, and its probable speedy dissolution; derides his self-imposed seclusion from the world of action, and the obscurity of such abilities and attainments; flatters his capabilities as a leader in great enterprises, and stirs his sluggish pride and cupidity. It was Mephisto in the study of Faust, and the *denouement* of the drama is the same. Blennerhassett's spirited, aspiring wife urges him on, and he fully commits himself to Burr. The island is to be the headquarters and rallying center for the expedition, and Burr, like King Richard, all aglow with the thought, "now by St. Paul the work goes bravely on," hurries on to Washington and Philadelphia, where, through the winter of 1805 and spring of 1806, he displays unparalleled industry and energy in his intrigues. He carries on a famous cypher correspondence with Wilkinson, who is supposed to be arranging matters for the successful handling of the troops, and stimulating the sympathetic in Kentucky and Tennessee; with Blennerhassett, whom he induces to write a series of articles for the Marietta papers, advocating a separation of the West from the government; with Clark, who makes two extended tours through Mexico to get the lay of the land, confer and connive with those officers, priests and others who are desirous of a revolt against Spain and the establishment of a new regime. Mexico swarmed with malcontents,

and they would flock to Burr the moment he crossed the border. Burr throws out his bait wherever there are fish. He inveigles Gen. Wm. Eaton, late consul to Tunis. He approaches Mr. Merry, British minister to the United States. Merry dispatches an envoy to Pitt with Burr's plan; the British ministry sanction it, since it will, if successful, weaken Spain in the new world, and, what is more, strengthen monarchical power and check the growth of the American republic in the Western continent. Burr is encouraged to go on, and is given to understand that an English squadron will be placed at his disposal whenever he so desires. Thus this arch flatterer weaves his web from London to Mexico.

Burr was aided by his son-in-law, Governor Alston, of South Carolina, a wealthy and influential Southerner; and, wrapped up heart and soul in the nefarious business of her father, was Burr's daughter, Theodosia, Governor Alston's wife. Who does not know of Theodosia, of her great talent, rare beauty and many accomplishments? How she was the only child of her father, the only and steadfast object of his pure and unselfish devotion; of his persistent patience in molding her character and unfolding her mind? How his precepts imbued her with fortitude, bravery and the many sterling traits that made her the remarkable woman she became? How he stored her mind with knowledge in polite literature? Who has not heard of the ease and elegance with which she presided over his house; of the worshipful fidelity and affection with which she administered to her father's comforts, and unfalteringly and uncomplainingly clung to him through every phase of prosperity and adversity? With Theodosia, who was to be the resplendent queen of this new empire to be, Burr set out, in the fall of 1806, for Blennerhassett's Island, every detail having been arranged for the launching of the conspiracy. Mrs. Blennerhassett and Theodosia — kindred souls in talents and culture, sympathetic spirits in the enterprise — cheerily and confidently busied themselves in building their "castles in Spain," and in actually preparing for the journey that was to end in placing

them on the pinnacle of power and splendor. According to the schedule settled upon, Blennerhassett was to be the delegated minister to England from Emperor Burr's great government, it being Mrs. Blennerhassett's highest aspiration to figure as a minister's wife at the Court of St. James.

Burr and Blennerhassett gave themselves, head and heart, to the elaboration and execution of their plans. To Blennerhassett, as may be supposed, Burr assigned the equipment of the flotilla. He was to provide the boats, provisions and accoutrements, while Burr stealthily scurried about the country on reconnoitering and recruiting excursions. At Marietta contracts were entered into for the construction of fifteen large boats, capable of transporting five hundred men. Ten of these flat-bottomed boats were forty feet long, ten feet wide, and two and a half feet deep. Five of them were fifty feet long. They were so constructed as to be rowed or pushed up or down stream. One of these boats was much larger than the rest, and was fitted up with considerable elegance. It had a spacious cabin, tastefully decorated, with a fire-place and glass windows. This was for Blennerhassett and his family, who were to accompany the fleet. The boat for provisions and freight was sixty feet long. Six boats were also ordered built at Nashville, Tenn., which were to carry the volunteers from that section down the Cumberland to the Ohio. Blennerhassett was utterly immersed in these preparations. He was commissary and purser; he exhausted his ready means, borrowed freely on his own account, and endorsed in a reckless way that betrayed poor business caution, but the blindest confidence in Burr. The island was a scene of bustle and excitement, in strange contrast with its former peace and quiet. Kilns and sheds were erected for drying the corn and storing the flour, pork, whisky and provisions for the fleet. Mrs. Blennerhassett and Theodosia, with their gay and graceful presence, were the animating and cheering spirits of all this warlike work. Burr, quick and keen, was everywhere — in Virginia, Ohio, Tennessee, Indiana — seeking support and enrolling recruits.

Some five hundred persons, it is supposed, became interested, directly or indirectly, in the undertaking. Burr's ulterior objects were carefully concealed from the knowledge of the public; the land speculation was his pretense, with perhaps a skirmish in Mexico, if war was declared, as everybody supposed it would be. His recruits enlisted with the indefinite idea that they were going on a voyage of adventure and fortune. Each man was required to supply his own outfit and arms, and was, on reaching the Wachita country, to receive one hundred acres of land, further proceedings to transpire as destiny should direct. It is safe to conjecture that those who actually engaged in this harum-scarum scheme were mostly young dare-devils, ready to accept any turn of the wheel of fortune, from ignominious failure to

> "A lucky chance that oft decides the fate
> Of mighty monarchs."

In the number it is well known were scions of the best emigrants of New England, sons of the sturdy revolutionary veterans who had, with the Ohio Company, taken up their residence upon the banks of the Ohio.

To Burr and Blennerhassett the future had never seemed surer or fairer than at this moment; the expedition was about to start, and, once under way, it was expected that hundreds, even thousands, would rally to its ranks. As Burr at that time wrote Wilkinson, "The gods invite to glory and fortune; it remains to be seen whether we deserve the boon." From the depths of his own storm-tossed experience, the Scottish bard says:

> "The best laid schemes o' mice and men
> Gang aft a-gley;
> And leave us naught but grief and pain
> For promised joy."

Never was so stupendous an air castle so suddenly dissolved. One by one the promising prospects vanished. Pitt, the English prime minister, had died in January, 1806, and Fox, his successor, timid and temporizing, had reversed the policy of his predecessor, and begun to parley for peace with Napoleon, now in the zenith of his power. It was absurd

to think of England abetting an attack on Mexico, and Burr's English squadron went glimmering. The United States, too, began to hesitate about inaugurating a war with Mexico, which Napoleon declared would be regarded as a war on him. The Spanish war furore began to subside from prudential reasons. Clarke, the New Orleans millionaire, who was to play the Crassus in the new empire, and lavish his wealth where it would do the most good, suddenly became embarrassed, and gave notice that he could not lend financial assistance. Vague rumors were started and spread along the Ohio and Mississippi, that Burr was brewing secession and treason, and no one knew just what, so enveloped were his movements with the air of secrecy and mystery. A general feeling of alarm was awakened, while Blennerhassett was busy on the island and at Marietta, all unsuspicious of the storm that was gathering. Burr, on one of his visits to Frankfort, Ky., was suddenly and unexpectedly arrested, November 6th, 1806, by United States District Attorney Daviess, for treasonable practices, and for being engaged in actions endangering the peace of the United States. He engaged Henry Clay as his counsel, solemnly assuring the great lawyer that he entertained "no design to intermeddle with or disturb the tranquility of the United States, nor its territories, nor any part of them, and that his aims were well understood and approved by the Government."[1] As a powerful and plausible liar, Burr displayed abilities second only to his great prototype, Napoleon Bonaparte. When his hearing took place, no evidence appeared against him, and he was discharged, and given a great ball by the citizens, who mainly regarded him as a hero and martyr. But this arrest and release was but the warning of what should come. "Thus bad begins, but worse remains behind." Burr, more emboldened than ever, hastened on to Nashville, to look after the boats preparing there, when the explosion took place.

On his way to the island, in September, Burr stopped at

[1] Victor, "History of American Conspiracies," 295.

Cannonsburg, Ohio, and talked freely of his plans to one Col. Morgan, an old patriotic revolutionary soldier, who promptly forwarded his important informtion to President Jefferson, at Washington. The latter at once employed a secret government agent, one Graham, to visit Ohio and shadow Burr and Blennerhassett. Means of travel were slow in those days, and Graham did not arrive in Marietta until November 15th. Pretending to be in Burr's confidence, he easily learned from Blennerhassett a full understanding of their intentions, and promptly repaired to Chillicothe, the capital of Ohio, and communicated his knowledge to Governor Edward Tiffin, who instantly sent a message to the legislature, then in session, asking for an enactment empowering him to call out the militia, arrest the Burrites, and seize their property wherever found. While the patriotic Buckeye state was preparing to pounce on Burr, his doom was sealed in other quarters. Burr's trusted messenger, Swartwout, reached Gen. Wilkinson at Natchez, October 8th, bearing that famous cipher letter, in which Burr tells Wilkinson that all is well, and to be prepared to join the army to the expedition, and that they, in concert, will move on to New Orleans. Burr had placed himself completely in the hands of a man capable of double duplicity and deceit, and Wilkinson, for causes which this is neither the time nor place to consider, suddenly assumed the role of deliverer of his country. He published Burr's plans, warned Gen. Harrison, governor of Indiana territory, to watch on the Ohio for Burr's expedition. He patched up a truce with the Spaniards, whose soldiers were on the frontier ready for an offensive advance, and, withdrawing the United States troops, pushed on to New Orleans, sending meanwhile a message to President Jefferson, giving full details of Burr's designs. This message reached Jefferson November 25th, and two days later he issued a proclamation, announcing that unlawful enterprises were on foot in the Western states, warning all persons to desist from the same without delay, and commanding all officers, civil and military, to use their immediate and utmost exertions to bring the offending

persons to condign punishment. This act of Jefferson set the country, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, ablaze with excitement. The governors of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, issued proclamations and called out the militia; the United States Senate passed an act suspending the writ of habeas corpus, which suspension the House would not sanction; the military companies of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore offered their services to the President.

The people were possessed of the most exaggerated anxiety and alarm. It was currently believed that the conspiracy permeated the entire union; that the East, West and South swarmed with spies, traitors and conspirators, and that thousands were about to spring up and flock to the banner of Burr, "who, for the moment," says Victor, "became a monster of huge proportions; his past history was reviewed and painted in colors dismal enough for Mohammedan; his victims in the social circle were counted by the dozen, and his natural children by the scores; his duplicity, subtlety, and power of persuasion were freely canvassed, even by his old political coadjutors; he became for the day the sum of all villainies." Claiborne, governor of New Orleans, declared martial law, called a mass meeting of the people, and exhorted them to stand firm by their country in this impending crisis. Stockade forts were erected to defend the city; the ships in the harbor were manned, and moved up the river to meet the arrival of the invincible invader, Burr. Wilkinson, whose villainous perfidy exceeds all precedent, even exposed Burr to the Spanish authorities of Mexico, and they, becoming fearful, hurried their troops to the frontier to prevent the invasion of the expected successor to the Montezumas. By authority of the legislature of Ohio,[1] Governor Tiffin assembled the militia of Washington county at Marietta, under Major General Buell. This force — so far as we can learn, more like a ragamuffin procession than a

[1] "An Act to prevent certain acts hostile to the peace and tranquility of the United States within the jurisdiction of the State of Ohio." Chase's Statutes, Vol. I, p. 553.

warlike army — proceeded to plant their cannon on the river bank to sweep the enemy's approach, while a detachment marched to the mouth of the Muskingum and seized the boats that had been built under Blennerhassett's direction.

With Blennerhassett matters were becoming serious. He was startled by the commotion throughout the country. His fleet was confiscated; his crews were captured or frightened off, and he began to realize that he was engaged in a sorry errand. His forebodings foretold the whirlpool that was about to engulf him and sweep him from his happy island home, whither, "shut up in measureless content," he had escaped the agitations of his own native land. His purpose began to shake, and, like the hesitating Thane of Glamis, he declared to his wife, "We will proceed no further in this business." But again it was the ambitious, dauntless, resolute woman who replied:

> "Was the hope drunk
> Wherein you 'dressed yourself? Hath it slept since?
> And wakes it now, to look so green and pale
> At what it did so freely? From this time
> Such I account thy love. Art thou afeard
> To be the same in thine own act and valour
> As thou art in desire? Wouldst thou lack that
> Which thou esteem'st the ornament of life
> And live a coward in thine own esteem,
> Letting I dare not wait upon I would?"

Learning that the militia of Ward county, Virginia, under Colonel Phelps, had been directed to take possession of the island and arrest himself and family, and urged on by his determined wife, Blennerhassett resolved to escape with what following he could command, and endeavor to join Burr, who was to await him at the mouth of the Cumberland. On the tenth of December the Ohio militia took possession of the boats at Marietta, and on the same day Comfort Tyler, one of Burr's satellites, arrived at the island from Beaver, Penn., with four boats and a crew of fourteen men. With this escort, augmented by some neighboring recruits and a few of the island hands, altogether some thirty-five persons, and with such articles of provisions as could be gathered on

board, Blennerhassett, at midnight, December 13th, bade farewell to his wife and home, and amid a winter's wind and a blinding storm, slipped from his moorings and dropped quietly down the river. A detachment of the Virginia militia had hurried on to the mouth of the Great Kanawha to intercept this escape, but the darkness of the night and the stupefying drink of the sentries, enabled Blennerhassett's boats to float safely by.

At day-break the next morning Mrs. Blennerhassett fled to Marietta to plead for the boat intended for the use of the family. She was refused, and returned to the island to find it occupied by the lawless, ruthless Virginia militia under Colonel Phelps. On the same day there arrived at the island a boat from Pittsburgh, bringing a band of ten young New Yorkers, volunteers for Burr's expedition. They were immediately arrested by Colonel Phelps, and under the jurisdiction of three Virginia justices, there was held in the parlors of the mansion a trial as ridiculous and farcical as that presided over by Dogberry in "Much Ado About Nothing." The accused were on a spree, and the soldiers ran riot over the island; the shrubbery was trampled down; the grounds torn up; the fences burned for the sentinel fires; they ransacked the house like a pack of vandals; the elegant apartments became barracks; the cellars were sacked; the wines and liquors drunk; the French furniture was broken and damaged; walls and ceilings were riddled with balls, and the spacious and splendid home ruined by the drunken, rioting militia, whom Colonel Phelps seemed powerless to restrain. To all this Mrs. Blennerhassett was a compulsory but defiant witness, and amidst all this trying ordeal and the demolition of her beautiful abode her heroism shone the brighter and steadier. There being no evidence sufficient to detain the New York party, they offered Mrs. Blennerhassett the cabin of their boat. It was stored with such choice pieces of furniture, books and household treasures as could be borne away—the remnants of a blighted residence—and on a bleak December day the desolate but devoted wife, with her two little boys, Harman and Dominick, aged six and eight, bade adieu to home and hap-

piness, and set sail in the little cabin flat-boat that could scarcely make headway down the ice-blocked river. She overtook her husband on January 15th at Bayou Pierre.

Burr, on arriving at Nashville after his flight from Frankfort, heard of the President's proclamation, and hastily started, on December 24th, with four boats and some thirty followers, down the Cumberland river, at the mouth of which, at Fort Massac, he met Blennerhasset. And now the entire force is assembled, and a review reveals ten boats and some sixty men, armed as efficiently and as uniformly as Falstaff's famous troops. Colonel Burr, like a mimic Napoleon, drew up his army on the banks and addressed them, saying that he had at this point intended to inform them fully of his plans, but he would defer to another time, and then, "with this array, the monarch of undefined realms floated down stream, *en route* to New Orleans and Richmond." Not a man in the crew knew just where they were going, or just what they were after; a mere handful of hardy frontiersmen, who jested at scars, as they had never felt a wound; a spreeing set of jolly fellows that were better versed in the quality of whisky than the tactics of war. Burr, all unconscious of his betrayal by Wilkinson, who was to make this ridiculous expedition dignified and dangerous by the addition of the army, pushed on, stopping at various points for recruits and provisions. At Chicksaw Bluffs, afterwards Memphis (January 5), Burr took on board thirty pounds of lead, some powder, three dozen tomahawks, and other articles of Western warfare. At Bayou Pierre (January 10), thirty miles above Natchez, the intrepid leader of the invading host learned how he had been undone by the treachery of his confederate, Wilkinson. He felt the prodigious agitation the effort of his expedition had created. He saw his empire ending in smoke.

Says Safford: "On a dark and dreary night in the month of January, as the flotilla pushed slowly from the landing at Petit Gulf, might have been observed the master spirit of the expedition, seated on a rough stool in the inclement cabin of a flat-boat, lighted only by the cheerless rays of a solitary candle and the decaying embers of a rudely-constructed fire-

place, with his face buried in his hands, while his elbows rested on a table of unplaned boards. He who had hitherto braved the disappointments which had attended his undertakings with a fortitude which astonished, while it gave confidence to his followers, now sat gloomy and dejected. Upon what he mused is beyond human ken; but, starting suddenly from his revery, he caught up an ax and directed his attendant to make an opening in the side of the boat, and through this, in the silence of the night, when he supposed no one witnessed, the chests of arms for the expedition were silently sunk beneath the waters of the Mississippi." "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note," but it was the burial of Burr's phantom principality.

At Cole's Creek, near Natchez, further progress of the flotilla was prevented by Mississippi militia (January 29), and Burr and Blennerhassett were placed under arrest and taken to the little town of Washington, where a grand jury was immediately impaneled and the leaders produced at court. Parton correctly remarks that "a court of justice was to Aaron Burr what his native heath was to MacGregor." Burr defended himself with old-time sophistry and skill, and so swayed the jury that they not only discharged him, but actually reprimanded the authorities of Mississippi for arresting him. To escape being detained by Governor Williams, as he knew he would be, Burr decided to desert his followers and fly. That was Napoleonic. So Burr visited his men, now numbering about one hundred and thirty, and made a formal address, stating in substance that circumstances over which he had no control compelled him to retire. He advised them to follow suit, and not stand on the order of their going, but go at once —anywhere they could get. He then put spurs to his horse and started east, intending to cut across the country to the Atlantic coast and set sail at some port for Europe. He got as far as Wakefield, Alabama (February 18), when he was recognized and captured. Then followed that long, wearisome journey of six weeks in the custody of Colonel Perkins and nine guards, over a thousand miles, through the wilds of Alabama, Georgia and the Carolinas, to Richmond and jail.

Burr's so called soldiers, stranded on the banks of the Mississippi, were left to shift for themselves as best they could. Some worked their way home, others remained to settle as farmers or school teachers, while many became fugitives, following various fortunes in the Southern states. Blennerhassett, leaving his family with friends at Natchez, set out to return to the island to see what could be done to retrieve his ruined home. Never was a man so wrongfully robbed of prosperity, peace, and plenty, so knavishly deprived of home, happiness, and even hope. He reached Frankfort July 14th, when he was again arrested and taken to Richmond, to be a fellow prisoner with Burr. He bore his fate with martyr-like heroism. His bearing under every circumstance was that of a man of sincerity, truth, and honor. The messages from his cell to his distracted wife echoed the sentiments of the poet:

> "Stone walls do not a prison make,
> Nor iron bars a cage;
> Minds innocent and quiet take
> That for an hermitage."

Then follows that brilliant tableau that closes this drama, the great trial at Richmond. It holds our attention and deserves our study, but we have time only for a momentary glance at this event, as memorable in American annals as the famous trial of Warren Hastings in the halls of Westminster. Of this episode pen pictures have been drawn time and again. In the midst sat Burr, the prisoner, scrupulously attired in his black suit and powdered hair and queue, composed, indifferent, disdainful, "proudly pre-eminent in point of intelligence to his brethren of the bar," lately the most conspicuous character in the country, now a criminal at the highest court. Cool, courageous, quick to see, swift to act, he detects with a lynx eye every vulnerable point of his antagonists, and he directs every move of his advocates. This arch-conspirator plays the imperious role of the persecuted, and with a pride equal to that of Lucifer, alludes to the prosecution as some sublime joke of Jefferson. He requests Theodosia, who remains at his side, to search the histories of Greece and

Rome for instances where men of virtue, independence, and talents like himself were made the object of vindictive and relentless persecution. His prison life is regaled with the flowers of enchanted women and the favors of admiring men. In the court room, a sad and silent spectator, rather than a participator, sits Blennerhassett, his mind upon the desolation of his home. With a Roman resignation like Marius, the exiled consul and conqueror, seated amid the ruins of Carthage, so awaits he day after day the decision that shall determine his doom. For a period of eight months this legal contest drags its length along. There is a legion of witnesses, among whom Wilkinson is the great lion. At last the agony is over; Burr and Blennerhassett are finally acquitted of the charge of treason, but are bound over in the sum of $3,000 to appear at Chillicothe (in January, 1808) to answer charge of misdemeanor committed in Ohio.[1] This later trial never takes place. So the curtain falls, the lights are out, and the actors and audience disperse.

Blennerhassett, with an inexplicable but irresistible infatuation, like some captive chained to the chariot of Burr, accompanies him to Baltimore. A mob threatens to lynch them, and Blennerhassett decides to part company with his leader, and at this point, for the first time in all the proceedings, Blennerhassett, who has never uttered a single syllable of complaint or murmured against his betrayer and destroyer, approaches him with a demand for some sort of satisfaction for the fortune he has lost in Burr's behalf. In his journal that day Blennerhassett wrote, "I resolved to burst the cobweb duplicity of all his evasion with me upon money matters; long and insidiously he has trifled with my claims upon him, and this day he has treated me not as a faithful associate, ruined by my past connection with him, but rather as an importunate creditor invading his leisure or his purse with a questionable account." Burr listened to his appeal for aid for his impoverished family with a mocking sneer of a Mephistopheles, as Blennerhassett writes, "with such an

[1] There was plenty of evidence as to the treasonable intentions of Burr, but no evidence of overt acts.

absence of that suavity of address with which he has too often diverted me from my purpose as now exhibited him a heartless swindler in the last swoon of his disorder, and determined me to hasten my departure." And so Burr's mysterious mask was torn at last, but Blennerhassett was made to drink his cup to the bitter dregs.

It is now the proper thing, and nearly every writer indulges in it, to daub all the damnable infamy conceivable upon Burr, and shower every sentiment of sympathy upon Blennerhassett. We would not detract one iota from the defamation due to Burr; but as for Blennerhassett, we believe that the best that can be said in his behalf is that he was, as the party remarked who piloted us to the island, "an old fool whom history would have utterly ignored had he not willingly walked into Burr's project." Just how far he was acquainted with Burr's farthest designs is a matter of conjecture, but he was undoubtedly deceived by his suavity and sophistry. Blennerhassett, strolling on his lawn, or shut up in his study on the secluded island, knew little or nothing about the country of his adoption, the strength, or form, or motive of its government; the temperament or sentiment of its people. He was a splendid specimen of a simpleton, and was ripe for Burr's scheme, the criminal character of which he certainly did not comprehend. But he staked his comfortable condition upon the scheme with Burr, who had everything to gain and nothing to lose, and, like any gambler, Blennerhassett should be made to abide the issue. He deserves pity for having little judgment and no experience, but he has received far more than his share of sympathy for losing in a game in which he deliberately ran all risk.

On his return to his family he stopped at his island home. He had left it just a year before in all its superb splendor. Now what a sight met his gaze! A flood had inundated the island, sweeping away the last vestige of the adornment of the lawn, destroying the garden, and loading the farm with floodwood and debris. The mansion was but a ghost of its former glory; walls were cracked and stripped, windows smashed in, and doors carried away. Every article of furni-

ture and movable property had been seized by his creditors and sold by the sheriff. The slaves had been confiscated, or had escaped to the Ohio shore and taken passage by the underground railway to freedom. The island was in possession of a Mr. Miller, who had attached it on a note for several thousand dollars, given by Burr and endorsed by Blennerhassett. The house was never occupied again, and was burned in 1811.

Blennerhassett, in the honest hope of being able to retrieve his fortune, and of satisfying every obligation, settled with his family on a large cotton plantation near Gibsonport, Mississippi. Mrs. Blennerhassett managed the business, while her husband gave himself mostly to his books. Here they remained for ten years, making an unequal struggle for success; for misfortune had marked this family for its own, the war of 1812 had injured the cotton market, and Blennerhassett was constantly pressed by his indorsements for Burr, amounting to thirty thousand dollars. In 1819 he sold his plantation for $27,000, to satisfy his creditors, and moving to New York, attempted to practice law; but business shunned him, and he moved again to Montreal, in the expectation of being appointed to some office by his old friend, the Duke of Richmond, who was Governor General of Canada. Scarcely had he arrived, however, when Richmond was removed, and he was again left destitute, and without the means of a livelihood. Leaving his wife and now three sons, he sailed for Ireland to look after an estate, left by a distant relative, to which he was entitled; but again justice shut its doors in his face. The estate had been seized by Lord Rosse, a cousin, and Blennerhassett was not able to enter a legal fight. He drifted back to London, and for three years eked out a mere existence trying to teach, write and clerk.

Meanwhile his wife in Montreal was compelled to take care, not only of herself, but her three boys. Dominick, the oldest, was a shiftless, dissipated *roue;* Harman, weak-minded and useless; Joseph, the third, too young to be of any assistance. Mrs. Blennerhassett, who had become a mere shadow of her former elegance and beauty, in every way, by

physical and mental exertion, bravely, desperately, strove to support her boys. She kept both hands and head busy sewing and writing for the press, even publishing a little volume of poems bearing the significant title, "The Widow of the Rock and Other Poems;" but the world did not want her wares. We find in her journal at this time: "Oh, I ask myself a thousand times what I can have done to deserve my present forlorn condition;" and to her husband she writes: "After the dreadful despondency I have endured for a period longer than I could ever have conceived myself capable, so extreme has been my wretchedness that I have often conceived myself sinking into a state that promised a speedy termination of my sorrows."

In 1821, at the age of sixty-three, Blennerhassett died, in complete indigence, at the house of a charitable sister on the isle of Guernsey. His wife, for whom he had ever displayed the most knightly devotion and love, was at his side. For eleven weary sorrowful years his broken-hearted wife lived on, returning to America to present a claim against the government for damage done their island property by the militia mob of Virginia. The claim was for $10,000, and Henry Clay was its champion in Congress. It was about to be voted, when, in 1842, in a dreary tenement house, with no one by her side but her imbecile son Harman and a negro servant who had never deserted her, wasted in body and weary in heart, Mrs. Blennerhassett left the world which had so cruelly treated her, and to which she had so often wished to bid farewell. She was buried by the Emmets, friends of her husband, and the only attendants at her obscure funeral.

Dominick, her oldest son, drifted about the states, a wretched, worthless, ragged tramp, and finally disappeared in a drunken debauch in St. Louis, probably either accidentally or intentionally drowning himself in the waters of the Mississippi, that river whose current had brought such a full measure of misery to this fated family. Harman lived on, a a gloomy, despondent, well-meaning, but half witted man, unnoticed and unknown, moving from attic to attic in New York city, and found at last (1854) by the Bowery Mission

in a barren garret, without carpet, bed covers or even pillows. In a state of starvation, he was permitted to die in the almshouse on Blackwell's Island. Joseph, the youngest son, was killed in the rebel army while fighting to disrupt the Union which his father, sixty years before, had been accused of attempting to destroy.

If the sensitive reader of history has tears to shed, he cannot do better than spare a few for the sad story of the Blennerhassetts. How can we more fitly leave them to memory than in the poetic words of Mrs. Blennerhassett, the echo of her own overflowing woe, in her poem penned for the little volume for which, like all else that she attempted, the cold world had no welcome:

"THE DESERTED ISLE.

Like mournful echo from the silent tomb,
That pines away upon the midnight air,
Whilst the pale moon breaks out with fitful gloom,
Fond memory, turn with sad, but welcome care,
To scenes of desolation and despair,
Once bright with all that beauty could bestow,
That peace could shed, or youthful fancy know.

To the fair isle reverts the pleasing dream;
Again thou risest, in thy green attire;
Fresh, as at first, thy blooming graces seem;
Thy groves, thy fields, their wonted sweets respire;
Again thou 'rt all my heart could e'er desire,
Oh, why dear isle, art thou not still my own?
Thy charms could then for all my grief atone.

The stranger that descends Ohio's stream,
Charmed with the beauteous prospects that arise,
Marks the soft isles that, 'neath the glittering beam,
Dance with the wave and mingle with the skies,
Sees, also, one that now in ruin lies,
Which erst, like fairy queen, towered o'er the rest,
In every native charm, by culture dress'd.

There rose the seat, where once, in pride of life,
My eye could mark the queenly river's flow,
In summer's calmness, or in winter's strife,
Swollen with rains, or battling with the snow.
Never again, my heart such joy shall know.

Havoc and ruin, rampant war have pass'd
Over that isle, with their destroying blast.

The black'ning fires have swept throughout her halls,
The winds fly whistling o'er them, and the wave
No more in spring-floods o'er the sand beach crawls,
But furious drowns in one o'erwhelming grave
Thy hallow'd haunts it watered as a slave.
Drive on, destructive flood, and ne'er again
On that devoted isle let man remain.

Too many blissful moments there I've known,
Too many hopes have there met their decay,
Too many feelings now forever gone,
To wish that thou couldst e'er again display,
The joyful coloring of thy prime array.
Buried with thee, let them remain a blot,
With thee their sweets, their bitterness forgot.

And, O, that I could wholly wipe away
The memory of the ills that work'd thy fall;
The memory of that all eventful day,
When I return'd and found my own fair hall
Held by the infuriate populace in thrall—
My own fireside blockaded by a band
That once found food and shelter of my hand.

My children (Oh, a mother's pangs forbear;
Nor strike again that arrow to my soul;)
Clasping the ruffians in suppliant prayer,
To free their mother from unjust control,
While with false crimes and imprecations foul,
The wretched, vilest refuse of the earth
Mock jurisdiction held around my hearth.

Sweet isle, methinks I see thy bosom torn;
Again behold the ruthless rabble throng,
That wrought destruction taste must ever mourn.
Alas! I see thee now—shall see thee long;
But ne'er shall bitter feelings urge the wrong,
That to a mob would give the censure, due
To those that arm'd the plunder-greedy crew.

Thy shores are warm'd by beauteous suns in vain,
Columbia, if spite and envy spring
To blot the beauty of mild nature's reign.
The European stranger, who would fling
O'er tangled woods refinement's polishing,
May find expended every plan of taste,
His work by ruffians rendered doubly waste."

THE FIRST CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF THE EARTH.

THE three stages of geographical knowledge are these: (1.) The observation of facts; (2.) The deduction of a theory of the earth from these facts; (3.) The adjustment of facts discovered later to this theory. The early difficulties in the way of establishing a true theory of the earth were: (1.) Men's limited knowledge of the earth; (2.) Their lack of scientific discipline and habit; (3.) The misleading character of geographical appearances. It is true of geography, as it is of astronomy, as Sir John Herschel has said, that "Almost all the conclusions of astronomy stand in open and startling contradiction to those of superficial and vulgar observation, and with what appears to every one, until he has understood and weighed the proofs to the contrary, the most positive evidence of his senses."

Men first supposed that the earth is a flat disk, bounded by the visible horizon. The second theory was that it is a flat parallelogram, longer east and west than north and south. When we consider the limitations of the men who formed these theories, we see that each one of them was wholly natural in its time. The terms "latitude" and "longitude" were given to geography by men who accepted the second theory. By and by the spherical theory appeared, originated, it is supposed, by Pythagoras, and received by the best informed of the Greeks. This view of the earth is stated in passages in old writers that are well known to scholars, of whom Aristotle, Strabo, and Seneca are the best known. Strabo, for example, wrote: "If the extent of the Atlantic Ocean did not prevent, it would be possible for us to sail from Spain to India along the same parallel."

[1]Abstract of an address before the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, December 20, 1886.

The ancients did three things for geography: (1.) They made known the central parts of the Eastern continent; (2.) They invented the spherical theory; and (3.) They constructed a geographical system in harmony with this theory. Two lines, one drawn from the southern end of the Scandanavian peninsula to the mouth of the Ganges, and the other from Cape Blanco to a point on the Eastern African coast, a little south of Cape Guardafui, with the intercepted shore lines, will enclose all the parts of the earth that were really known to the Greeks and Romans. The three men who did most to work out the ancient system of geography were Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, and Ptolemy.

In the middle ages, geographical theory went backward from the ground taken by the Greeks. Men now deduced their general view from appearance directly, and then supported them with literal interpretations of tropical passages in the Bible; or, perhaps, it would be better to say, they deduced the view from the passages, and then supported it by appealing to appearances. As a matter of course, the parallelogram theory was restored. The familiar extracts from Lactantius, Augustine, and other of the church fathers show what absurdities even able men may be led into by a false method. In the famous "Christian Topography" of Cosmas we have an example of a patristic geographical system.

Nevertheless, geographical knowledge made great headway in the middle ages. The Saracens cultivated the science of geography as well as added to the facts known. The Crusades greatly enlarged the geographical vision of the Western Christians. Marco Polo's visit to Eastern Asia, falling toward the close of the thirteenth century, worthily closed one era and opened another. His discoveries were remarkable in themselves, but they were followed in time by others even more remarkable.

Prince Henry, of Portugal, called "The Navigator," born in 1391, ushered in the great age of maritime discovery that historians and men of science never weary of celebrating. The passion of this age was to bring Europe and Asia into closer relations; to open up to the West a better road to the

East. The old commercial routes from the Mediterranean basin to the Indus were now falling into the hands of the Turks, who closed them to the West. In Prince Henry's youth, men knew nothing of the Western coast of Africa south of Cape Non; they had no knowledge of the form and size of that continent, and they believed the tropics to be a sea of fire, impassable to man. But the Prince formed the opinion that Africa is a peninsula, around the southern part of which the western and eastern waters flow together; and from this opinion deduced the conclusion that an ocean road to the East could be found by keeping down the African coast. To the solution of this problem he devoted his talents, his fortune, and his influence. This was the first practical plan of the Maritime Age for reaching the East. The Prince died long before this idea was realized; but at his death, in 1464, the Kings of Portugal took it up and prosecuted it to the end. The equator was crossed in 1471, the mouth of the Congo reached in 1484, the Cape of Good Hope reached in 1486 and doubled in 1497. In 1498 Gama cast his anchors in Calcutta and fulfilled the great dream of the Navigator. Changes of the greatest magnitude followed the discovery of this road to the East. Mention may be made of the diversion to it of the India commerce, the decay of the commercial cities of the Mediterranean, and the rise into new prominence of the cities and nations of the Atlantic shore—Portugal, Spain, France, England, and, in time, Holland.

Columbus made the second suggestion looking to realizing the passion of the Maritime Age. The old Greek idea of the sphericity of the earth was now generally received by the ablest navigators, and by Columbus among others. He deduced from that idea the conclusion that Asia could be reached by sailing westward across the Atlantic. This was Strabo's idea revived. By this time, too, men's knowledge of the earth had become greatly enlarged, as compared with antiquity. In 1474 Toscanelli constructed his map on the theory of sphericity, and in 1492 Behaim made his "World Apple." Columbus, indeed, sailed on his first

voyage six years before Gama reached Calcutta; but Diaz had already reached the Cape, and the time was fully ripe for some great navigator to try the secrets of the Western Ocean. The Genoese was in all ways well fitted for his undertaking; he was well read in geography and in travels; he was an extensive traveler himself; he was a practical navigator, and was abreast of the nautical science of his time. He is a good illustration of the remark of Sir Arthur Helps: "The greatest geographical discoveries have been made by men conversant with the book knowledge of their own time."

Columbus attempted a new passage to the eastern part of the old world. And this he supposed he had found. Asia was the vision that he saw in the west to the day of his death. Thus he wrote when near his end: "If any one does not give me credit for having discovered the remaining parts of India, it simply arises from personal hostility." But he had discovered a new world,—not found a new road to India. He had discovered greater than he knew or would believe. When he was in the West Indies he was not among the outlying islands of Asia, but was separated from Asia by the width of a continent and of the greatest of oceans. Originally he had been misled in his estimate of the size of the earth by the false longitudes of the old geographers; but now his belief that he had found Asia confirmed him in this estimate. He had not touched hands with Marco Polo, and the demonstration of the doctrine of sphericity was left for another to make.

In 1493 Pope Alexander XI issued a bull, that, in connection with previous bulls issued by his predecessors, had the effect to give all non-Christian lands already discovered, or yet to be discovered, lying east of a meridian line one hundred leagues west of the Azores to Portugal, and all similar lands west of this line to Spain. This arrangement not proving satisfactory to Portugal, the two powers entered into the Capitulation of Tordesillas, in 1494, by which the line of demarkation was drawn three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores. From this agreement, which was approved by the Pope as the supreme head of the Church,

most important results followed, only one of which need be here mentioned. The Portuguese, keeping on to the East through the India seas, discovered the Spice Islands about the year 1500. Among the Portuguese who served in that quarter of the world was Magellan, a skilled navigator, a fearless soldier, a man fully abreast of the geographical knowledge and nautical science of the times, and of the most indomitable resolution. After returning from the Indies, Magellan served some time in Africa, where he was wounded. He now renounced the service of the Portuguese, renounced his country, even, and resorted to Spain, where he told the King that the western road to the Spice Islands was shorter than the eastern road; that those islands, therefore, lay on the King's side of the world; and that he would prove this to be true if the King would put him in command of a proper expedition. The causes that led Magellan to take this course are not altogether clear. It is said that he had become offended at the King of Portugal on account of some real or fancied wrong; also that he had an ambition to fulfill the dream of Columbus which, since the capitulation of 1494, could be done only under the Spanish flag. But Charles V listened to the bold navigator, and complied with his request. Magellan sailed from Seville with five ships and 237 men, August 10, 1519. The principal events of the voyage are Magellan's discovery of the strait that bears his name, his issuance from its western portal into the Pacific Ocean (that he named) November 28, 1520, the voyage of twelve thousand miles to the northwest across that trackless ocean, the discovery of the Ladrones and the Phillipines, the death of Magellan, the reaching of the Spice Islands, and the return of Sebastian del Cano, one of Magellan's lieutenants, to Seville in the flag-ship "San Vittoria," September 7, 1522, having accomplished the circumnavigation of the earth.

Thus was the conception of Aristotle, of Strabo, and of Seneca justified. Hitherto that conception had rested on theoretical arguments merely; now it was practically demonstrated. In peril and hardship, Magellan's voyage far tran-

scends that of Columbus. Not the least testimony to the hardihood of the undertaking is the fact that for sixty years Magellan had no follower. Sir Francis Drake, who was, in Motley's phrase, the first Englishman and the second of any nation to plow a furrow 'round the world, did not bring his great voyage to a close until the year 1580.

B. A. HINSDALE.

THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXHIBIT FOR THE OHIO CENTENNIAL.

THE collection of Ohio prehistoric relics, made at Philadelphia and at New Orleans, attracted much attention, and demonstrated the richness of Ohio archæological treasures. By common consent Ohio was given the first place among the states in this class of exhibits. And yet the collections were far from satisfactory to archæological students, and to those who made the collections and superintended the exhibits. The small amount of money appropriated to the exhibits, and the brief time which could be given to making the collections, made it necessary to depend upon the generosity of the owners of large collections, leaving large parts of the state unrepresented, and compelling the management to put on exhibition duplicates from the same localities, and specimens of which a definite history was wanting, making them of little value to the archæologists.

The coming Ohio Centennial affords the opportunity—one which will probably not occur again—of making a full and complete exhibit of Ohio archæology, and the publication of a report which will be a credit to the State and the collectors of its prehistoric remains. This can only be accomplished by the hearty co-operation of the owners of all collections in the State. They can, with but little work for each, make this part of the exhibition a grand success, and secure for each of them a report upon Ohio archæology, which could not otherwise be made, and which will be of inestimable v lue to every collector and to every student.

If the owners of all the collections in the State, great and small, will forward promptly to Mr. A. A. Graham, of Columbus, secretary of the Archæological and Historical Society, a catalogue of their specimens of which the history is known, designating in what county found, whether found on the surface, in graves, in mounds or in rock shelters; and will give him a right, upon proper precaution for their safe keeping, to

select such specimens as he desires to put upon exhibition, and will then, in ample time before the opening, forward such specimens to him by express, the work can be accomplished. As none of the specimens are to go out of the State, the risk of loss is very slight, and if small printed gummed labels are prepared, as was done at New Orleans, so that the owner's name shall be conspicuously and securely attached to every specimen, each exhibitor will get full credit for his share of the exhibition, and all confusion of goods will be avoided.

Among other things, information should be furnished upon the following points:

All the forms of chipped flint or chert, with the relative frequency of each form.

All instances of the finding of caches of chipped implements; number in each find; description of the locality, and a specimen or two of the find.

Descriptions of all known sites for the manufacture of chipped implements.

All forms of Ohio pottery and places where found.

Descriptions of all known sites for the manufacture of pottery.

Descriptions of all explored rock shelters and lists of finds in them.

All forms of grooved axes and hammers, and comparative frequency of each.

All forms of ungrooved axes, hammers, celts, bark-peelers, gouges, etc., and comparative frequency of each.

All forms of pestles and mortars.

All polished ornamental stones, badges, etc., with comparative frequency of each.

All stone beads, all pipes, all bone and shell implements and ornaments, all copper implements, beads and other ornaments.

All skulls from mounds, and all contents of mounds.

All Indian skulls the history of which can be accurately given.

All specimens inscribed or sculptured in any way, with as accurate a history as possible of the finding of each.

All evidences of prehistoric mining for chert, oil, salt, or any other substance in the earth.

Description of all mounds, and earthworks of all kinds, in the neighborhood of each collection, and, if explored, a full history of the exploration.

In describing a specimen, the exact condition of its finding should be given, if possible, and it should be remembered that unfinished specimens are among the most valuable of all; as unfinished stone pipes, roughly blocked ornamental stones, and ornaments partially bored, etc.

If from all parts of the State the information above outlined can be forwarded as indicated, and authority given to draw upon every collection for a loan of the specimens which best illustrate the archæology of each section, an exhibit can be made which would be highly instructive to all students of archæology, and which would keep several experts busy during the entire Exposition making special preparation for the final report.

In connection with the exhibit thus brought together, the management should secure a full exhibit of the bibliography of Ohio archæology, putting in one of the cases, as far as practicable, all that has been written upon the subject, with a general index of all of it prepared expressly for the exhibition. Artists should be provided to photograph or sketch all specimens needed to illustrate the final report, the preparation of which should be placed in the hands of a half dozen or more Ohio experts, best qualified for the work. The report should be published as a distinct and special volume.

Such a work, fully illustrating Ohio archæology, prepared by Ohio men, and published by Ohio publishers, would be a very fitting centennial mile-stone of the State, contrasting with our history the history of those who occupied the land before us, our civilization with their civilization, our arts and mode of life with theirs. It will require considerable money to do this work, and it should be done well if at all. It is a matter that concerns the whole State, as it is securing from a rapidly coming oblivion the primitive history of the State.

The State should pay for it, pay generously for it, and should authorize the placing of a copy of the final report in the hands of every contributor to the exhibition, and in every public library of the State, with a large edition over for distribution by the proper officers of the State and the experts who prepared the report.

There are a few magnificent collections which ought to be placed unbroken in the Exposition, and among the first of these is that of Mr. Thomas Cleaney, of Cincinnati. His collection should be placed where the archæologists of the State can study it in detail, and should then become the property of the State by purchase. It would make a grand beginning for such an archæological collection as the State of Ohio ought to have, and would doubtless draw to it many other collections which otherwise would be lost or carried out of the State. It would be well if all the owners of large collections would put them on exhibition, but the real value of the final report will depend upon the completeness of the collection of typical specimens from all parts of the State.

M. C. Read.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DIRECTORY OF OHIO.

The Ohio Archæological and Historical Society desires to procure for publication, first in the Quarterly, a complete list of all owners or collectors of archæological and historical specimens in Ohio,—especially those whose collections illustrate Ohio antiquities. I will esteem it a favor if all who read this will send me the names and addresses of any whom they may know to be collectors. Blanks will be furnished, if desired, on which to send such information.

We wish to secure this information, not only for use in our regular Society work, but also that an exhibit may be made by every Ohio collector in our coming Centennial Exposition in the autumn of 1888.

A. A. Graham,
Secretary.

THE RELATION OF THE GLACIAL PERIOD TO ARCHÆOLOGY IN OHIO.

As yet no implements have been found in Ohio which can certainly be ascribed to the glacial age. The hope that we may yet discover pre-glacial instruments in Ohio, as we have discovered pre-glacial wood, is, however, a sufficient justification of this paper, if it shall succeed first in making clear the relation of the glacial period to archæological discoveries in other portions of the world; and if, in the second place, it shall call the attention of local observers in different parts of the State to the class of implements likely to be found within the limits of the State, and to the localities where special investigations should be inaugurated; and third, if it shall show the relations of glacial investigations in this region to the question of glacial chronology, and so of the age of the implements found elsewhere.

First, the relation in general. The general facts as to the occurrence of a glacial period are so well known that I need only allude to them. The evidence is conclusive that, at a comparatively recent period, the northern portions of Europe and America were covered with a vast mass of slowly moving ice, pressing down from the direction of the north pole towards the warmer latitudes. The origin of this ice (like that of the glaciers still remaining in the Alps and other mountain ranges, and still covering a large part of Greenland), was doubtless in the continued accumulation of snow over the glaciated region in excess of the melting power of the summer sun. This implies a climate both cool and moist. Into the speculations concerning the changed condition in the meteorological forces, I need not enter.

The extent of the region over which this ice sheet spread is now pretty accurately known. In the old world the glacial covering extended over nearly the whole of the British

[1] A paper read before the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society at the first annual meeting, February 18, 1886

Isles, and over all of the Scandinavian peninsula, and spread far into Western Russia and Northern Germany. From the Alps, also, as a center, glaciers pushed on both sides, far down beyond the present limits. The whole valley of Switzerland, from the Alps to the Jura mountains, was full of ice, so that boulders were carried from the one to the other. In America the glacial sheet extended to the sea south of New England, covering the site of New York. Westward from New York city I have myself carefully traced in the field the southern boundary of the glaciated regions as far as the Mississippi. Beginning at New York city, and omitting the minor features, the line marking this southern boundary runs N. W. to Salamanca, N. Y., thence S. W. to the neighborhood of Louisville, Ky., thence bending north to the upper part of Brown county, Ind., thence S. W. to Carbondale, Ills., and thence N. W. to the neighborhood of St. Louis. To this limit the ice of the glacial period continued in its southern movement, grinding down the elevated surfaces and filling up the depressions of the country, and bringing its vast burdens of granite rocks from the north. As it withdrew, the ice in melting left its enclosed solid material which it had picked up along its long journey (constituting the boulders and hard-heads, or nigger-heads, as they are sometimes called), to mark its former presence. In the rear of the retreating ice there also appeared the prairie region, which had been planed and leveled by the moving mass, and by the subsequent water deposits. The whole of the region north of this boundary line is now covered with an unstratified deposit of clay, sand, gravel and boulders. In this so-called "till" the constituent elements are uniformly of northern origin, and frequently from distantly separated points, granitic pebbles from Northern Canada being mingled in one indiscriminate mass with the local pebbles of Southern Ohio, and with others from intervening points. Another sign of glacial action consists in the striæ or scratches which, all over this region, characterize both the stones included in the till and the surface of the underlying rock.

The special feature, however, to which our present subject

would call attention, is found in the terraces which everywhere mark the streams flowing southward from the glaciated area. Almost without exception, the streams flowing southward from this area show marks of former floods from fifty to a hundred feet higher than any which now occur. Gravel deposits from fifty to a hundred feet higher than the present flood-plain line the valley of everyone of these streams, not only where they lie within the glaciated region, but through much of their course after they have emerged from the glaciated into the unglaciated region. In our own State these terraces are specially observable on the following streams and places:

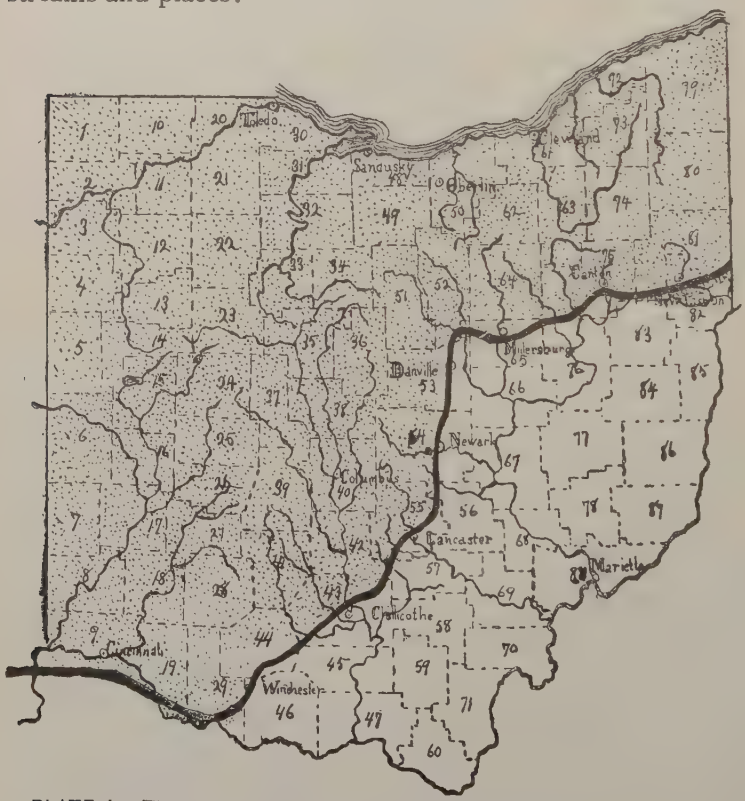


PLATE I. The shaded portion indicates the glaciated area of Ohio.

Middle fork of Beaver, New Lisbon; Big Sandy Creek, east branch, East Rochester; Nimishillen, Canton; Tusca-

rawas, Bolivar; Sugar Creek, Beech City; Killbuck, Millersburg; Mohican, Jefferson township; Owl Creek, Millwood; Rocky Fork, Wilkin's Run; Licking River, Newark; Jonathan Creek, Thorn township, Perry county; Hocking River, Lancaster; Clear Creek, Clearport, Madison township, Fairfield county; Salt Creek, Adelphi; Scioto River, Green township, Ross county; Paint Creek, Twin township, Ross county, and throughout the whole lower course of both the Little and the Great Miami.

Second. It is in terraces of this description that the so-called "palæolithic" implements have been found; and as there can be no question that this class of terraces was formed by the floods which mark the closing portion of the glacial period, the occurrence of human implements in their undisturbed strata connects the early history of man with the closing scenes of the glacial period. This being so, any well-directed study concerning the glacial period is important as shedding light upon the condition under which man began his career and upon the time which has elapsed since.

The first discovery of human implements in glacial deposits occurred in the valley of the Somme, near Abbeville, in Northern France. These were brought to light by Bouches de Perthes nearly fifty years ago. The scientific world did not credit his statement that they were found in undisturbed strata until about twenty-five years ago, when several English geologists were so happy as to find implements in place in the high gravel terraces near Abbeville. At once, when attention was directed to the conditions in which these were found, other implements of a similar type were found in similar situations in various places in England. And some ten or twelve years ago, Dr. Abbott, of Trenton, N. J., began to find implements of a similar type in the extensive gravel deposits near his home upon the Delaware River. It was my privilege to visit the locality, five years ago, in company with Professor Boyd Dawkins, of England, and Professor Haynes, of Boston, both of whom are specialists in this line of investigation, and have spent much time in studying the localities in Europe where palæolithic implements have been found,

and both were struck with the resemblance between the ter races of the Delaware, where Dr. Abbott finds his implements, and the terraces in the valley of the Somme, where Bouches de Perthes made his discoveries. From my own prolonged

PLATE II. Rough stone implement found by Dr. Abbott at Trenton, N. J., in glacial gravel, four feet below the surface.

investigations since, I am perfectly confident that the gravel terraces on the Delaware have their counterpart in the various glacial terraces in Ohio, to which your attention has been directed.

It is only rough stone implements of the type shown in the accompanying plate, which are found in the situations just mentioned, connecting them with the spring freshets of the glacial period. Smoothed stone implements have never been found in situations indicating anything like the antiquity belonging to some specimens of the palæolithic type.

It is exceedingly important for the interests of archæology that local observers, in various portions of Ohio, should become thoroughly familiar with the facts just presented. Heretofore the attention of collectors has been so generally directed to the ordinary Indian type of flint implements, and there has been such anxiety to obtain perfect specimens of these, that implements of the palæolithic type are likely to have been overlooked. But, really, far more interest would attach to a few implements of the palæolithic type, if found in undisturbed glacial gravel, than to the whole mass of Indian implements which now fill our museums. We would specially ask, therefore, that all persons living in the vicinity of glacial terraces, where excavations are being made for any purpose, would systematicaliy and persistently look for implements similar to these described. Nor should the observer be too easily discouraged. A rough implement like these, lying in a great bank of gravel, is about as difficult to discover as a needle in a haymow. Only the eye that is trained by long practice in exploration will be likely to recognize such an implement amid its abundant surroundings of pebbles and gravel. If, by good chance, any one should discover such an implement, let him, if possible, secure a photograph of it before its removal. At any rate, he should spare no pains in noting its position and describing its surroundings, and should call the attention of professional geologists to the facts as soon as possible, that everything may be confirmed in the mouth of two or three competent witnesses.

Aside from the discoveries of Dr. Abbott, at Trenton, N. J., those of Miss Babbitt, at Little Falls, Morrison county, Minn., are as yet the best authenticated instances of palæolithic implements found in glacial gravels. Miss Babbitt's

specimens consist of numerous flakes. and quartz fragments, which, in the opinion of the best judges, show unmistakable evidences of human workmanship. (See American Naturalist, June and July, 1884.) The specimens were found in undisturbed gravel, three or four feet below the surface of a glacial terrace, on the east side of the Mississippi valley, and about twenty-five feet above the present flood-plain.

In our own State Mr. Reefy, of Elyria, has in his possession an implement of the palæolithic type, supposed to come from the glacial terraces lining Sugar Creek, in Tuscarawas county, not far below the point where it emerges from the glaciated region. But the original observations were not sufficiently accurate to determine whether it was originally in the gravel or merely upon the surface. Another of similar type was found near by in an excavation in a cave. Several years ago some implements of this character were found in the vicinity of Columbus.

Third. Since palæolithic implements are undoubtedly found in glacial gravels, it becomes at once evident that the archæological interest of glacial studies in Ohio is by no means wholly dependent upon the discovery of such implements in our own glacial deposits. But any investigation bearing upon the date of the close of the glacial period, and upon its physical geography, is of direct archæological value. It is of great interest to know that when man, in a state of development similar to that of the Eskimo, was hunting the mastodon, and the reindeer, and the walrus in the valley of the Delaware, the ice-front extended in our own State as far south as Cincinnati. At that time the moose, the caribou, the musk ox, and reindeer ranged through the forests and over the hills of Kentucky. And, if my theory of a glacial dam at Cincinnati can be entertained, there was for a period a long, irregular lake occupying the valley of the Ohio and its tributaries, rising to the top of the bluffs in all the lower portions of the valley above Cincinnati, and being as much as three hundred feet deep at Pittsburg. The explorer at that time, coming up from the south, would have encountered an ice wall along the line which I have marked as the

glacial margin; and upon ascending it would have had before him naught but such icy wastes as recent explorers have found in the upper portions of Greenland, far along towards the north pole. The forests and flowers south of this margin were then also very different from those now covering the area. From the discoveries of Professor Orton and others, we infer that red cedar abounded all over the southern part of Ohio. Some years ago a pail factory was started in the neighborhood of Granville, Licking county, using as the material logs of red cedar which were probably of pre-glacial growth. There is record of similar pre-glacial wood in Highland, Clermont and Butler counties, specimens of which can be seen in the cabinet of the State University. In a few secluded glens opening into the Ohio River above Madison, Ind., where the conditions are favorable, arctic or northern plants, which, upon the advance of the glacial sheet had been driven southward, still remain to bear witness of the former general prevalence. Among these may be mentioned *Sullivantia Ohioensis* and *Pedicularis Canadensis*.

Ohio also affords abundant opportunities for estimating approximately the date of the close of the glacial period. Light upon this question promises to come from three classes of facts: 1st. The recession of waterfalls in streams whose courses have been changed by the deposition of glacial debris. Such streams occur most frequently in the northern part of the State. The streams emptying into the Ohio River for the most part occupy their old valleys, since they were, all through the glacial period, the natural outlets of sub-glacial streams; but in the northern part of the State, where the streams flowed in an opposite direction from the ice-movement, the change of the river beds has been almost universal. The old channels were filled up with glacial debris, and, upon the retreat of the ice, it was a mere chance whether the rivers should flow in their former channels or not.

The former outlet for Lake Erie was so completely filled and buried that its course is only conjectural. Before the glacial period there were no Niagara Falls and no Lake Erie. The recession of the falls from Queenston to their present

position represents all the work done since the glacial period by that mighty agency, the Niagara River. The length of the gorge is not far from seven miles. Upon comparing the recent survey by the United States government with that made by the New York geologists about 1840, there seems little doubt that the rate of the recession of Niagara Falls is as much as three feet per year; from which it would follow that it is not more than 11,000 years since the Niagara River began its work at Queenston. While other elements of the problem would tend to reduce even that estimate to less than 7,000 years.

The various streams like Black, Rocky, Cuyahoga and Chagrin rivers, afford similar, but more imperfect, opportunities to estimate this period. At Elyria the falls of the Black River have receded since the glacial period a trifle more than two thousand feet. We have not, from direct observation, even an approximate estimate of the rate of recession. But a rate of two inches a year would escape observation for a long period, unless it had been conducted with great care. A few years ago a mass of rock fell at Elyria so great as to shake the whole town. Thus the undermining process may go on for a hundred years before its effects will become visible. But with the present forces in operation it would seem incredible that the average rate of recession at Elyria should not be greater than one foot in fifty years, which is the result obtained if, as many calculate, the glacial period closed a hundred thousand years ago.

Dr. Gould, of Berea, Ohio, is studying a similar problem in connection with Rocky River, whose pre-glacial bed, now filled with glacial debris, has been traced for a distance of twenty-five or thirty miles. Some gentlemen at Akron are also, I understand, studying the gorge at Cuyahoga Falls with the same end in view. It is of the greatest importance that wherever there is a post-glacial waterfall or gorge, exact facts should be obtained, and their meaning interpreted, so far as they bear on chronology, and reported to the scientific world. One of the most interesting problems, which I have myself partially investigated, is furnished by the post-glacial gorge

in the lower part of Paint Creek, near Chillicothe. The nature of this gorge, and its relation to the glacial period, was discovered by Professor Orton (see Geological Survey of Ohio, vol. II, p. 653). The valley of Paint Creek is here bearing to the north, and, as Professor Orton shows, there can be no question that its northern outlet was obstructed by the advancing ice of the glacial period, compelling the water that accumulated in front of it to seek an outlet by a short cut across a neck of Waverly sandstone which here extended a few miles north of the southern extension of the ice. Here, now, is a valley presenting a striking contrast to that which was occupied in pre-glacial times. The pre-glacial valley is not far from a mile in width; while this is scarcely five hundred feet at the top, and less than that at the bottom; and the small streams which flow into it from either side have worn back scarcely six hundred feet, though the material, consisting of two or three hundred feet of shale underneath sandstone, is very favorable to rapid erosion. It can scarcely be possible that these forces have been in operation in their present position for many thousand years. Any one living in the vicinity of Chillicothe, or having the leisure of a summer vacation, will confer a great favor upon the world by conducting a careful series of investigations upon this gorge, and reporting the facts and figures.

A second means of approaching this chronological problem is through a study of the valleys which have been worn by streams of various sizes in the glacial deposit itself.

Two years ago, in the Baptist Quarterly (for July, 1884), Professor Hicks, of Granville, reported the results of such an investigation in the valley of Raccoon Creek, Licking county. The present flood-plain of this creek is now bordered on either side by gravel terraces about fifty feet high, which are evidently the remnants of a deposit filling the whole valley to that height, laid down by the swollen streams which marked the closing of the glacial epoch. Since the glacial period the present stream has been occupied with the task of slowly removing this material. The number of cubic yards which it has already removed can be approximately

estimated. The rate of removal is more difficult to determine. Assuming the rate to be the same per cubic foot as that which is transported by the Mississippi River past New Orleans, the time required would be less than fifteen thousand years.

A similar estimate I have made for Plum Creek, the little stream which passes through Oberlin, in Lorain county. Plum Creek is about twelve miles long, and drains a basin whose area is about twenty-five square miles. Its course is all the way through a bed of till, there being no rocky obstructions. The channel which it has worn I estimate to average twenty feet in depth above its flood-plain, and five hundred feet in width.

Calculating from these data, we have the following results: The total amount of material eroded from the trough of Plum Creek is 633,600,000 cubic feet. Estimating the rainfall at forty inches, and that one-half finds its way through the channel, the annual amount is 1,161,600 cubic feet. Now, accepting the estimate of Humphreys and Abbott for the Mississippi River, that one foot of silt is carried away by every 2,610 cubic feet of flowing water, we find that this insignificant stream carries away 455,057 cubic feet of silt every year. Estimating that one-half of this comes from the surface and tributary streams, it would require, at present rates, only 2,846 years for the erosion of this valley. But allowance must be made for the slower rate of erosion, when the the country was covered with forests. This rate, however, can hardly be reduced to more than one-third or one fourth, which would make the period not far from 10,000 years. It is incredible that, with the effects produced, this stream should have occupied its bed for a much longer period than that.

Another mode of approximately estimating the date of the close of the glacial period, is from calculations concerning the extent to which the lake basins have been filled up. Thousands of years ago it was a mystery that, although all the rivers ran into the sea, the sea was not yet full. That mystery has been explained. But, upon observing the amount of silt carried by every stream which empties into a

lake basin, the question meets us, why have not all our lake basins been filled with solid material, which can not be evaporated? Millions upon millions of cubic feet of mud, sand and gravel are annually carried by the streams into Lake Erie, and yet Lake Erie is not full; and there are still in Northern Ohio many smaller lakes receiving corresponding deposits from the streams emptying into them. The reason why these lakes are not full is that they have not always existed; they are young, and in many cases their age can doubtless be estimated by the extent to which they have already been filled up. Since living in Ohio I have not been favorably situated for conducting such investigations in this particular line. But the result of investigations, such as might be carried on in numerous places in Ohio, and as made by myself upon a small lake basin in Andover, Mass., will be found in my "Studies in Science and Religion," p. 342. The attention of local observers is earnestly directed to that class of investigations.

CONCLUSION.

From what has been said, I trust that it becomes apparent that my subject is germane to the objects of this meeting and Society. Man co-operates with Nature, and the results of natural and human forces are everywhere closely intermingled, so that archæology can not free itself altogether from geology.

I am so often asked concerning the relation of the Mound Builders to the glacial period that it will not be out of place for me to say here that the work of the Mound Builders is very recent, as compared with the glacial period. The mounds and earthworks of the lost race which inhabited Ohio before its discovery by Europeans, are all upon the surface, being built when in the valleys, like our present cities, upon the summits of the glacial terraces we have described, or upon the present flood plains. The implements also contained in these mounds are all of the modern type, differing, in a marked degree, from the rough stone implements found in New Jersey, Northern France and Southern England. Without doubt, where the antiquity of the Mound Builders

s counted by hundreds of years, that of pre-glacial man must be counted by thousands.

The intelligent prosecution of the lines of inquiry which I have suggested can not fail to lead to important results, either positive or negative. If, after years of patient investigation by scores of observers, a single well-attested locality should be discovered, like that of Trenton, N. J., where palæolithic implements are found in undisturbed deposits of glacial gravel, the event would elicit the interest of scholars in all the world and through all coming time. A failure to find such a locality after sufficient examination, will also be significant in various ways.

Let me repeat that the favorable points for investigation abound along the valleys of all the streams emptying into the Ohio river, and at various places along the Ohio itself. Wherever excavations are being made in these glacial terraces it is to be hoped that some one will be upon the look-out for the rude implements which were used by pre-glacial man, and which may by chance have been buried in these deposits and preserved for present study. The instrument may be rude, and the flake but a fragment, but for all that they may signify the presence of man, and may open a new chapter in the early history of our race.

G. Frederick Wright.

THE SERPENT MOUND SAVED.

It gives us great pleasure to record that a beginning has been made in the work of effectually preserving the mounds and earthworks of our State. The celebrated Serpent mound, on the Lovett farm, near the northern border of Adams county, has been purchased for the Trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology of Cambridge, Mass., and henceforth will be sacredly preserved by them for the study of future archæologists. This purchase has come about through the enlightened interest of Professor F. W. Putnam, curator of this museum, and Professor of American Archæology and Ethnology in Harvard University. Upon observing the ravages which time and the elements were making with this most valuable archæological relic, he called the attention of some of his friends to the importance of immediate action. Professor Putnam's own account of the steps toward the purchase of this mound are worthy of preservation. We quote from a communication made by him to the *Cincinnati Post*, June 4, 1887.

"Four years ago I visited the famous Serpent mound in Adams county. Last fall, in company with Mr. Kimball, I revisited the mound, and found that it had suffered much from wash-outs since my former visit. It was evident that if steps were not at once taken for its preservation it would soon be a thing of the past. This led me to write a letter which was published in the *Boston Herald*, and was widely copied by the press. About that time Miss Alice C. Fletcher, who is so well known for her efficient work among and for the Omaha Indians, and from the papers she has written relative to the Indians, knowing of my desire to save several of the prehistoric monuments of Ohio from destruction, mentioned it at a lunch party of Boston ladies in Newport, and interested them to such an extent that they opened a correspondence with me, stating that they were

ready to assist in the work of preservation. As a result of this three Boston ladies took the matter in hand, and with the assistance and encouragement of Mr. Francis Parkman and Mr. Martin Brimer, they issued a little circular setting forth the importance of preserving the Serpent mound by purchasing it and placing it in the charge of the trustees of the Peabody Museum of American Archæology and Ethnology one of the departments of Harvard University. The money asked for was soon obtained, and the trustees passed a vote agreeing to accept the trust. During this time I was in constant correspondence with Mr. Lovett, upon whose farm the mound is situated, and on the 17th of May I left home for the purpose of making the purchase of so much of Mr. Lovett's farm as could be agreed upon. The negotiations have now terminated, and a purchase of about sixty acres of the Lovett farm has been agreed upon, and a topographical survey of the tract is being made. The portion of the farm included in the purchase begins at Brush creek, which flows along the base of the high cliff on which is situated the singular earthwork in the form of a serpent more than a thousand feet in length, in whose open mouth is an egg-shaped embankment, having a long diameter of nearly one hundred feet. The land purchased extends south of the serpent to the new pike now being made, thence eastward, so as to include a never-failing spring of nice water, and a mineral spring near by, in a beautiful grove of maples; thence north to the private road leading from Mr. Lovett's house to the creek bottom, which road is the northern boundary to the creek. To the southeast of the serpent, on the hill between it and the spring, is a large conical mound, of course included in the purchase, and probably having a close connection with the history of the serpent. This, then, is what has been done, and how it was done. Now for what is proposed to be done. To state that in a few words is simply to say that a beautiful natural park will be secured for the benefit of all who wish to visit it, free of charge, so long as it is respected, and no vandalism committed."

Thus "a monument, which is to be forever protected

where it was placed by its builders, an enigma for the present and a study for the future, is placed in charge of this museum for safe-keeping. The deed of the land is a conveyance from John T. Wilson to the following named trustees of the Peabody Museum and their successors: Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Boston; Prof. Asa Gray, Harvard University; Dr. Henry Wheatland, President Essex Institute, Salem; Hon. Theodore Lyman, Brookline; Hon. George F. Hoar, President American Antiquarian Society, Worcester; Francis C. Lowell, Esq., Boston, and Professor Frederick W. Putnam, President Boston Society of Natural History.

"In relation to the Serpent Mound Park, as I propose to name the place, I can only add that it is my plan to pass the autumn on the place, restoring the Serpent mound where it has been injured, and in strict acordance with the survey made by Squier and Davis in 1849, when it was covered by a heavy growth of trees, which were nearly all prostrated by the great tornado about 1859, two maples alone escaping that terrible blast. The fields that are now in wheat will be made into beautiful blue grass lawns, trees will be planted in various places, paths will be made, shaded by trees, and in doing this I hope to place in the park every species of tree found in Adams county. This portion will be fenced in, and horses will not be allowed beyond the fence. Along the eastern border a road will be made from the new pike to the grove and springs, where hitching-posts and a horse-trough will be placed. The grove will be clear of underbrush, and a spring-house will be made, so that parties taking their lunch along will have cool water and a comfortable place in which to rest and lunch, and a shelter in case of rain. So long as the place is respected and guarded by all who visit it, the park will be free to all, but should any vandalism be committed, an arrangement would at once be made to put a keeper at the place, and possibly entrance fees would have to be charged in order to pay the expense. But certainly the people will respect a place thus gratuitously prepared and opened for their benefit, to see and enjoy, but not to injure.

"To reach the park from Cincinnati, take the Cincinnati and Eastern road to Peebles, a four hours' ride, where there is a good livery kept by Mr. G. Gallagher, from whom teams can be hired. A drive of two hours by the present road, in part very rough, will bring parties to the mound. Next season the new pike and road will be ready, and the distance will be reduced. With this illustration of the great interest taken in the ancient monuments of your State, will not the people of Ohio be aroused to the importance of securing others from destruction? There are many others as important as the "Serpent," which should be protected at once—Fort Ancient, on the Little Miami; Fort Hill, on Brush Creek, about ten miles above the Serpent; the fortified hill, in Butler county. Several of the works in the Scioto valley, such as the those at High Bank and Cedar Bank, near Chillicothe; the great banks at Piketon, and many others, deserve special attention, and some legislative act ought to be passed at once to that end. Ohio will be held in disgrace if she lets her centennial celebration go by without such action. For such an object all parties can unite for the credit of your great and beautiful State, and I pray that it may be done.

"Respectfully, F. W. Putnam."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE EARTHWORKS OF OHIO.

PREPARED BY MRS. CYRUS THOMAS FOR THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

[*Continued from page 78.*]

ANY observers in the State who have facts concerning the earthworks of Ohio, in addition to those here stated, will confer a favor upon the world by forwarding such information to Professor G. F. Wright, Oberlin, O., the member of the Editorial Committee in charge of this department, by whom the facts will be classified and published in future numbers, making the QUARTERLY by far the completest depository of such information.

In locating ancient remains it is desirable to note the following points:

The character of the works — whether mounds, stone graves, burial places, enclosures, walls, caches, etc.

Whether explored or not, and if explored whether relics were found, the kind of relics, and where such relics have been deposited, if known.

The exact locality, as near as can be determined, in township, county, and State, and whether near a town or stream of any note.

Whether any notice or description has been published, and in what book, paper or magazine such notice may be found.

In all cases where antiquities have existed, but are now obliterated, they should be included in the list, and mention made of their having been destroyed.

CLINTON COUNTY.

Mound near Wilmington. Mentioned in Amer. Antiq., Vol. I (1879). pp. 262, 263.

COSHOCTON COUNTY.

Ancient burying ground, a short distance below Coshocton. Brief notice, quoted from description by Dr. Hildreth,

in Silliman's Journal. Howe's Hist. Coll. Ohio, pp. 115, 116; also in Silliman's Journal.

Ancient cemetery, a short distance below Coshocton, on an elevated, gravelly alluvium. As seen in 1835 by an anonymous writer, Amer. Jour. Sci. and Art, 1st Ser., Vol. XXXI (1837), p. 69.

CUYAHOGA COUNTY.

Mound near Chagrin Falls. Explored. Described in Amer. Antiq., Vol. I (1878), pp. 55, 56.

The Jewett "Hill Mound," "Courtney's Mound," "W. Conant's Mound," and "G. Conant's Mound," at Dover. Explored, but contents only noticed, 9th Rep. Peab. Mus., p. 19.

Mound that formerly existed at the corner of Euclid and Erie streets, Cleveland. Mentioned by Col. Whittlesey, and articles obtained therefrom figured, Tract 5, West. Res. Hist. Soc. (1871), p. 39. He also mentions, on same page, a mound that formerly existed on the homestead of A. Freese, Sawtell avenue.

Ancient works at Newburg (walls and ditches). Described and figured by Col. Whittlesey, Tract 5, West. Res. Hist. Soc. (1871), pp. 10, 11, Pls. 2, 8. Noticed and Col. Whittlesey's figure copied by S. D. Peet, Amer. Antiq., Vol. V (1883) p. 236; see also Anc. Mon., p. 40.

Ancient work, "three miles southeast of Cleveland," briefly described from Col. Whittlesey's notes, Anc. Mon., pp. 38, 39. (Probably the works at Newburg, above mentioned).

Ancient works at Independence (walls, ditches and enclosure). Described and figured by Col. Whittlesey, Tract 5, West. Res. Hist. Soc. (1871), pp. 11, 12, Pls. 2 and 3; Anc. Mon., p. 40.

DELAWARE COUNTY.

Ancient works are found in three places in this county; most noted in lower Liberty, about eleven miles below Delaware, on the east bank of Olentangy. Localities of Indian villages. Brief mentions, Howe's Hist. Coll. Ohio, p. 573.

ERIE COUNTY.

Mound in northeast part of Kelly's Island. Explored,

described and figured by Col. Whittlesey, Tract 41, West. Res. Hist. Soc., pp. 35, 36.

FAIRFIELD COUNTY.

Two circles at "Rock Mill," about seven miles north of Lancaster, on a hill a short distance from Hocking River. Other mounds and works in same section. Briefly noticed by Professor E. B. Andrews, Rep. Peab. Mus., Vol. II, pp. 51–53. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., p. 100, Pl. xxxvi, No. 3.

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

Embankment, with corresponding exterior ditch, four and a half miles north of Worthington, on the left bank of Olentangy Creek. Brief notice and figure, Anc. Mon., p. 36. Pl. xiv, No. 2.

Square enclosure, circle and mound, on Olentangy Creek, one mile west of the town of Worthington. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., p. 84, Pl. xxix, No. 3.

Mound which formerly stood on the south line of Columbus (city). Opened. Brief description, Coll. Hist. and Miscel. and Monthly Journal, Vol. II (1823), pp. 47, 48; also in Ohio Monitor.

Mound at Whittington. Notices by Caleb Atwater, Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I, p. 176.

Enclosure and mound, a mile north of Dublin. Reported by Charles M. Smith.

GEAUGA COUNTY.

Cemetery, in the extreme southeast part of the county, two miles southeast of the village of Parkman. Graves lined with stone. Described by S. N. Luther, Sm. Rep., 1881, p. 593. The stone mound and stone graves described by C. C. Baldwin, Tract 56, West. Res. Hist. Soc. (1882), pp. 160–165, are probably the same as those mentioned by Mr. Luther.

GREENE COUNTY.

Fortification on Massie's Creek (a tributary of Little Miami), seven miles east of Xenia, consisting of walls of mingled earth and stone, and stone mounds. Described and

figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 33, 34, Pl. xii, No. 3. Some other works, half a mile below, consisting of oblong enclosure, semicircle and mound. Brief notice and figure, Anc. Mon., p. 95, Pl. xxxiv, No. 3. Polygonal enclosure on the right bank of the Little Miami, Sec. 24, T. 4, R. 8, Anc. Mon., pp. 95, 96, Pl. xxxiv, No. 4.

Circular depressions; promontory, known as Mitman's Hill. Brief description by Professor J. E. Warren, Proc. Cent. O. Sci. Ass., Vol. V, p. 56.

Mound, four miles north of Xenia, at Tawawa Springs. Mound in Miami township. Mound at Cedarville, in Cedarville township. Reported by F. C. Hill, Sm. Rep. (1879), p. 438.

HAMILTON COUNTY.

The "Langdon Mound," near Red Bank; brief notice of the mound and contents, and of another near by.

Mound on the farm of Mr. Gould, two miles from Reading. Brief description of the mound and contents, 16th Rep. Peab. Mus., pp. 175, 176.

Large enclosure, with outside ditch, on the right bank of the Great Miami, near the village of Coleraine. Described and figured Anc. Mon., pp. 35, 36, Pl. xiii, No. 2. (See also C. Pl. iii.) Possibly one of the works alluded to by Hugh Williamson, Obs. on Climate of America, Appendix D, pp. 189, 190.

Ancient Cemetery near Madisonville. Mentioned in Anc. Nat., Jan. 1881, Vol. XV, pp. 72–73. A lengthy and illustrated description by T. W. Langdon in the Jour. Cin. Soc. Nat. Hist., V. III, pp. 40–68, p. 139, pp. 203–220, and pp. 237–257. Partial notices also in 15th Rep. Peab. Mus., pp. 63–67 and 77, and 16th Rep., pp. 165–167; pp. 196 and 199. Brief notice from C. L. Metz, Sm. Rep., 1880, p. 445.

A square enclosure and parallel lines, opposite side of Little Miami River from the Milford Works; nearly opposite Milford, Clermont county. Brief description Anc. Mon., p. 95, Pl. xxxiv, A, No. 2. Also figured in Hugh Williamson's work on Climate, p. 197, fig. 2.

Ancient works in Anderson township. Notices and partial descriptions, 16th Rep. Peab. Mus., pp. 167–174 and p. 202; also 17th Rep., pp. 339–346, 374 and 376. Noticed by C. L. Metz, Sm. Rep., 1879, p. 439.

Two circular enclosures in Sycamore township. Reported by J. P. MacLean, Sm. Rep., 1881, p. 683.

Fortified Hill, at the mouth of the Great Miami. Described and figured, Pres. Harrison in Trans. Hist. Soc. Ohio, Vol. I, pp. 217–225. Brief notice and figure (copy from op. cit.) Anc. Mon., pp. 25–26, Pl. ix, No. 2.

Four mounds on the present site of Cincinnati; opened; the articles obtained described by Dr. Drake in "Pictures of Cincinnati," p. 204, etc. Mentioned by Caleb Atwater, Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I, (1820), pp. 156–160.

Mound and grave at Cincinnati. Opened by Col. Winthrop Sargent, and the articles taken from them described by him in a letter to Dr. Benj. L. Barton, in 1794. Illustrated, Trans. Am. Phil. Soc., Vol. IV, (1799), pp. 177–180, and Vol. V (1802), p. 74.

The following ancient works have been found "in the precincts of the town of Cincinnati:"

Three circular embankments, two parallel convex banks, an excavation, and four mounds of unequal dimensions. Described with measurements in *Western Gazetteer or Emigrant's Directory*, pp. 282–283.

Mound at Sixth and Mound streets, Cincinnati. Reported by H. H. Hill, Sm. Rep., 1879, p. 438.

Aboriginal vault or oven at the junction of the two branches of Duck Creek, near the Red Bank station, in the vicinity of Madisonville.

Old roadway on Sec. 11, Columbia township. Reported by C. L. Metz, Sm. Rep. 1879, p. 439.

HARDIN COUNTY.

Mound "near the Bellefontaine and Indian Railway, between Mt. Victory and Ridgeway." Thoroughly explored and described by John S. B. Matson, in Ohio

Centen. Rep., pp. 126–134. Illustration original in Tract 11, West. Res. Hist., Soc., 1872, pp. 9–16.

HIGHLAND COUNTY.

Square enclosure, with nine banks of long parapets united at one end in the form of a gridiron, on the head branches of the east fork of the Little Miami River; briefly described in *Western Gazetteer*, p. 299.

Brief notice of "Fort Hill," with a few additional particulars, 17th Rep. Peab. Mus., p. 349. Description and map in Anc. Mon., pp. 14–16, Pl. v. First described and figured by Prof. Locke in Geol. Rep. (Ohio), 1838, pp. 267–269, fig. 15.

Enclosure and mound in Salem township, one mile and a half southeast of Pricetown. Surveyed, described and figured, J. P. MacLean, Sm. Rep. 1883, pp. 851–853.

HOLMES COUNTY.

Mounds southeast of Odell's Lake, examined by Dr. Boden.

Mound on the summit of Dow's Hill, one mile northeast of Londonville; explored. Reported by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep. 1881, p. 597.

Cache of leaf-shaped flint implements, found in a pond on the farm of Daniel Kick, in Washington township, about a half mile north of the Lake Fork of the Mohican River. Described by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep. 1877, p. 267. Reported by him in Sm. Rep. 1881, p. 597.

Mounds in Washington township, on lands of J. L. and Cyrus Quick. Examined. Described in Sm. Rep. 1881, by H. B. Case, p. 596. Marked L in diagram, p. 594.

HURON COUNTY.

Ancient works (circular and irregular enclosures, mounds and ditches), near Norwalk; described and figured from Whittlesey's surveys and notes, Anc. Mon., pp. 37, 38, Pl. xv. No. 1.

JACKSON COUNTY.

Mound on the farm of Mr. Ed. Poor, in the edge of Lick township, near Berlin, on the second bottom of a small trib-

utary of Dixon's Run. Explored and described by Dr. John E. Sylvester, Am. Antiq., Vol. I, July, August and September, 1878, pp. 73–75.

KNOX COUNTY.

Mentioned by N. N. Hill, Hist. Knox Co.:

Mound one fourth mile south of Fredericktown, and formerly an enclosure, p. 170.

In Berlin township, mound on the Ellis Willet place; another on the Davis farm, p. 422.

Stone wall in Butler township, p. 432.

Mounds in Clay township, p. 437.

Enclosure on the farm of Mrs. Kerr, Jackson township, p. 488.

Enclosure and mounds near Greersville, Jefferson township, p. 494.

Mound one mile east of Mt. Liberty; near by, vestiges of an enclosure, p. 497.

Several mounds in Morgan township, p. 534.

Mound, ditch and embankment, half mile east of Fredericktown, on the bank of Owl Creek. A circular ditch and embankment on the farm of Wm. Loveridge. All in Morris township, p. 538

Enclosure and mound formerly on the site of Fredericktown, Wayne township. Described pp. 557, 558.

LAKE COUNTY.

Deposit of flint implements near Painesville. Mentioned by M. C. Read, Am. Antiq., Vol. I, July, August, September, 1878, p. 98.

Old Fort, near Willoughby. Brief description by Col. Whittlesey, Tract 41, West. Res. Hist. Soc., pp. 36, 37.

LICKING COUNTY.

Mound two and a half miles south of Newark, known as the "Taylor mound," and located on the farm of Mr. Thomas Taylor. Explored and fully described by Prof. O. C. Marsh, Am. Jour. Sci. and Art, 2d Ser. No. 42 (1866), pp. 1–11. Republished in Hist. Mag., Oct. 1867, Vol. II, 2d Ser., p. 240.

Tippet's mound. Figured on Pl. 11 Ohio Centen. Rep.

Mound of loose stones one mile and a half southeast of Jackstown, figured on same plate; also mentioned by Col. Chas. Whittlesey, Tract 5, West. His. Soc., 1871, p. 39.

Flint Ridge, in Licking and Muskingum counties, contains flint quarries and ancient "diggings." Described by A. C. Ross and W. H. Ball, Sm. Rep. 1879, p. 440. A geological sketch by an anonymous writer, Am. Jour. Sci. 1st Ser. Vol. XXV (1834), pp. 233, 234. Also described in full, with diagrams, by C. M. Smith, Papers relating to Anthropology, from Sm. Rep. 1884, pp. 13–35.

Mound in Amsterdam.

Embankment mound and stone mound a mile and a half southeast of Amsterdam. Reported by Charles M. Smith.

"The Alligator Mound" and other mounds about three miles northwest of Newark. Mention and measurements of the first, Howe's Hist. Coll. Ohio, p. 298. Mentioned in Anc. Mon., p. 72, and fully described and figured on pp. 98–100, and Pl. xxxvi, No. 2. Mentioned by S. D. Peet and Sq. and Davis. Figured, copied, Am. Antiq. Vol. V., 1883, p. 262.

Stone mound in the vicinity of Licking River, "not many miles from Newark." Noticed by Caleb Atwater, Trans. Am. Ant. Soc. Vol. I., pp. 184, 185. Excavated, and described by J. Dille, Sm. Rep. 1866, pp. 359, 360.

Fortified Hill, near Granville. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., pp. 24, 25, Pl. ix, No. 1.

"The Newark Works," consisting of lines of embankment, enclosures, mounds, etc., at the junction of South and Raccoon forks of Licking River, one mile west of Newark. Described with plat and figures, Anc. Mon., pp. 67–72, Pl. xxv, figs. 12–16. Mentioned in Howe's Hist. Coll. Ohio, p. 294. Described and figured by Caleb Atwater, Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc. Vol. I (1820), pp. 126–129, Pl. ii. Described by Priest, Am. Antiq., pp. 157–159. (He says "As given by the Antiquarian Society at Cincinnati.") Lengthy account and figures by Isaac Smucker in Am. Antiq. July, 1881, Vol. III., pp. 261–267. (Says they were noticed by Isaac

Stoddard in 1800.) Described and figured in Warden's Researches, pp. 20–21, Pl. 1, 2nd part fig. 1.

Antiquities in the vicinity of Newark. Mounds and embankments. Described in *Western Gazetteer*, p. 305 (note); and briefly noticed by Thad. M. Harris, Jour. Tour., p. 156.

Ancient works at Newark. Described and figured by M. Warden, Dupaux. Antiq. Mex., Vol. II. pt. ii., pp. 20, 21. Pl. i, pt. 2, fig. 1.

Ancient works near Newark at the junction of South and Raccoon Forks of Licking River. Described and figured in small pamphlet (unpaged, 4 leaves), Premiums and Regulations with the names of the Awarding Committees for the Fifth Annual Fair of the Ohio State Board of Agriculture, to be held at the city of Newark—Columbus, 1854.

LORAIN COUNTY.

Inscriptions on a "stone column or idol" found, covered with thick coat of moss, on the farm of Alfred Lamb, in Brighton, 1838. Description from the "*Lorain Republican* of June 7, 1843" in Howe's Hist. Coll. Ohio, pp. 312–313, two cuts.

Enclosure and ditch on the right bank of Black River in Sheffield township. Described and figured by Col. Whittlesey, Anc. Mon., p. 39, fig. 4.

Enclosure near the banks of French Creek in Sheffield township. Described and figured by Col. Whittlesey, Anc. Mon., p. 39, fig. 5.

MAD RIVER VALLEY.

Antiquities, consisting of mounds, except one enclosure. Among those mentioned are the mounds at Enon, Haddix Hill and Kauffman's farm. Also Baldwin and Roberts mounds on Buck Creek. Of these the Roberts and Baldwin mounds were thoroughly explored and full descriptions and figures given by Prof. T. F. Moses, Proc. Cent. Ohio Sci. Association of Urbana, Ohio, Vol. I., Pt. i, 1878, pp. 30–49, plates 1–8.

MEDINA COUNTY.

Ancient walls and ditches on the east branch of Rocky River at Weymouth. Described and figured by Col. Whit-

tlesey, Tract 5, West. Res. Hist. Soc. 1871, pp. 18, 19, Pl. 7. Also Tract 41, where it is named "Fort Hill" and mentioned as near Berea.

MERCER COUNTY.

Mound half a mile from Sharpsburg, mostly of sand and gravel. Reported by J. L. Whitney. O. T. Mason in Sm. Rep. 1880, p. 448.

MIAMI COUNTY.

Mound on Corn Island, near Troy. Opened. Described and contents noted by George F. Adye in a letter in *Cincinnati Gazette*, and quoted in Hist. Mag., Nov. 1869, Vol. VI, 2d Ser., from the *Christian Intelligencer.*

Earthworks and mounds in Concord and Newton townships. Brief descriptions by E. T. Wiltheiss, Papers Relating to Anthropology, from Sm. Rep. 1884, p. 38.

Embankment of earth and stone on the left bank of the Great Miami, two miles and a half above the town of Piqua. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., p. 23, Pl. viii, No. 3. Noticed also by Drake, View of Cin. Described and figured by John P. Rogan, Thomas Ms. p. —. Notice by John P. MacLean, Mound Builders, p. 27.

Below the preceding a group of works (circles, ellipses, etc.) formerly existed on the site of the present town of Piqua. Described in Long's "Second Expedition," Vol. 1, pp. 54–66. Mentioned in Anc. Mon., p. 23.

Mounds and earthworks in Washington and Spring Creek townships, on the Great Miami and its tributaries. Full description and diagram by E. T. Wiltheiss, Papers Relating to Anthropology, from Sm. Rep. 1884, pp. 35–38.

Tablets of burnt clay found on farm of W. Morrow near Piqua. Reported by C. T. Wiltheis, Sm. Rep. 1879, p. 440.

Graded way at Piqua. Described in Long's Sec. Expd., Vol. I., p. 60. Noticed in Anc. Mon., p. 88.

[*To be continued.*]

LITERARY PERIODICALS OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

In a course of investigations concerning Western literary undertakings, the writer has given some attention to the history of periodical publications, particularly those devoted to literature. There have been many such publications in the valley of the Ohio River, some of great merit, others of little or no value. Comparatively few of our Western magazines have been well supported by the public, or have lived longer than five or six years. The majority were ephemeral, running their career in a twelve-month, or less.

The subjoined list comprises between sixty and seventy titles of periodicals devoted wholly or in part to general literature, that have appeared in the Ohio valley from the year 1819 to 1860, a period of forty-one years. Doubtless the list is very incomplete. Readers of the Quarterly will confer a favor by pointing out any errors they may discover in the list, or by furnishing additional information on the subject to

W. H. Venable.

LIST OF LITERARY PERIODICALS.

The Western Review and Miscellaneous Magazine. Monthly. Wm. Gibbs Hunt, Lexington, Ky., August, 1819, to July, 1821.

The Literary Cadet. Weekly. Dr. Joseph Buchanan, Cincinnati, November, 1819. Twenty-three numbers were issued, and then the Cadet was merged in the Western Spy, which was thereafter published as the Western Spy and Literary Gazette.

The Olio. Semi-monthly. John H. Woods and Samuel S. Brooks, Cincinnati, 1821. Continued for one year.

The Literary Gazette. Weekly. John P. Foote, Cincinnati, January, 1824, to December, 1824. Revived by Looker and Reynolds, who continued it for eight months in 1825.

The Western Minerva. Francis and Wm. D. Gallagher, Cincinnati, 1826. Survived less than one year.

The Western Review. Monthly. Timothy Flint, Cincinnati, May, 1827, to June, 1830.

Transylvania Literary Journal. A college paper. Prof. Thos. J. Matthews, Lexington, Ky., 1829.

Masonic Souvenir and Pittsburg Literary Gazette. A quarto weekly. Flint called it, "in form and appearance the handsomest in our valley." 1828.

The Shield. Weekly. R. C. Langdon, Cincinnati, 182–. Survived two years.

The Ladies' Museum. Weekly. Joel T. Case, Cincinnati, 1830. Survived one or two years.

The Illinois Magazine. Monthly. James Hall, Shawneetown, Ill., October, 1830, to January, 1832.

The Cincinnati Mirror and Ladies' Parterre. Edited by Wm. D. Gallagher. Published by John H. Wood. Semi-monthly. First number issued October 1, 1831. At the beginning of the third year Thomas H. Shreve went into partnership with Gallagher, and the two bought the paper, enlarged it, and issued it weekly under the name Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature. In April, 1835, the Chronicle was merged in the Mirror, and James H. Perkins became one of its editors. The Mirror was sold in October, 1835, to James B. Marshall, and bought again in January, 1836, by Flash and Ryder. It was discontinued early in 1836.

The Western Monthly Magazine, a continuation of the Illinois Magazine. Cincinnati, James Hall, January, 1833, to February, 1837.

The Academic Pioneer and Guardian of Education. A. Pickett, Cincinnati, 1833.

The Literary Pioneer. Nashville, Tennessee, 1833.

The Kalaidescope. Nashville, Tennessee, 1833.

The Literary Register. Elyria, Ohio, 1833.

The Schoolmaster and Academic Journal. Semi-monthly. B. F. Morris, Oxford, Ohio, 1834.

The Western Gem, and Cabinet of Literature, Science and

News. St. Clairsville, Ohio. Semi-monthly, and afterwards weekly. Gregg and Duffey. Mrs. Dumont and Mrs. Sigourney were contributors. 1834. Kept up about a year.

The Western Messenger. Cincinnati and Louisville. Western Unitarian Association. Edited by Ephraim Peabody, James Freeman Clarke, James H. Perkins and W. H. Channing. June, 1835, to April, 1841.

The Family Magazine. Cincinnati, Eli Taylor. Started in 1836, and published six years or more.

The Western Literay Journal and Review. Cincinnati, Wm. D. Gallagher, 1836. One volume.

Western Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal. Louisville, W. D. Gallagher and John B. Marshall, 1837. Five numbers only.

The Hesperian; or, Western Monthly Magazine. Columbus and Cincinnati, Wm. D. Gallagher and Otway Curry, May, 1838, to 1841.

The Literary News-Letter. Weekly. Louisville, Kentucky, Edmund Flagg, 1839. One year.

The Monthly Chronicle. Mansfield, Ohio, 1839.

Literary Examiner and Western Review. Pittsburg, E. B. Fisher and W. H. Burleigh. Monthly. Eighty-four pages to a number. 1839. Published about a year.

The Buckeye Blossom. Xenia, P. Lapham and W. B. Fairchild, 1839.

The Family Schoolmaster. Richmond, Ind., Halloway and Davis, 1839.

The Western Lady's Book. Cincinnati. Edited by an association of ladies and gentlemen. Published by H. P. Brooks. Began August, 1840. Short lived.

The Ladies' Repository and Gatherings of the West. Cincinnati, Methodist Book Concern, 1841 to ——. In the year —— the Methodist Book Concern began to publish the National Repository, which was kept up for ———.

The Western Rambler. Cincinnati, Austin T. Earle and Benj. S. Fry. Started September 28, 1844. Survived only a few months.

Southwestern Literary Journal and Monthly Review. E.

C. Z. Judson ("Ned Buntline") and H. A. Kidd, assisted by L. A. Hine. Nos. 1 and 2 were published in Cincinnati; Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 in Nashville, Tennessee. From November, 1844, to April, 1845.

The Querist. Cincinnati, Mrs. R. S. Nichols, 1844. Continued a few months.

The Democratic Monthly Magazine and Western Review. Columbus, Ohio; B. B. Taylor, editor; S. Medary, publisher. June and July, 1844.

The Casket. Cincinnati, J. H. Green, "the reformed gambler," and Emerson Bennett, 1845.

The Quarterly Journal and Review. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January to July, 1846

The Herald of Truth. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January, 1847, to June, 1848.

The Great West. Literary Newspaper. Cincinnati, E. Penrose Jones, May 5, 1848, to March, 1850.

Sackett's Model Parlor Paper. Cincinnati, Egbert Sackett and F. Colton, December, 1848. Eight numbers issued.

The Shooting Star. Cincinnati, S. H. Minor.

The Semi-Colon. Cincinnati,

The Western Mirror. G. W. Copelan and "Sam'l Pickwick, Jr.," Woodward College, Cincinnati.

Western Quarterly Review. Cincinnati, L. A. Hine, January to April, 1849.

Gentleman's Magazine. Cincinnati, J. Milton Sanders and J. M. Huntington, 1849. A few numbers only.

The Hipean. Cooper Female Institute, Dayton, Ohio, 1849.

Moore's Western Lady's Book. Cincinnati, edited by A. and Mrs. H. G. Moore. Begun in 1849, and continued about eight years.

The Western Pioneer. Chillicothe, S. Williams.

The Western Literary Magazine. Columbus, Ohio, Geo. Brewer.

The Columbian. Literary Newspaper. Cincinnati, W. B. Shattuc and W. D. Tidball, October 20, 1849, to March, 1850.

Columbian and Great West. Cincinnati, W. B. Shattuc, March, 1850, to September, 1854.

The Citizen. Lyons and McCormick, Cincinnati, 1851.

Pen and Pencil. Cincinnati, W. Wallace Warden. Started January, 1853. Eight numbers issued.

The Parlor Magazine. Cincinnati. Conducted by Jethro Jackson, assisted by Alice Cary. Begun July, 1853. Two volumes.

Genius of the West. Cincinnati. Edited by Howard Durham, Coates Kinney and W. T. Coggeshall. October, 1853, to June, 1856.

The Literary Journal. Cincinnati, Mrs. "Ella Wentworth," and Mrs. E. K. Bangs, 1854. A few numbers.

West American Review. Cincinnati, G. W. L. Bickley, 1854.

The Forest Garland. Cincinnati, Smith and Lapham, 1854.

The Odd Fellows' Literary Casket. Cincinnati. Edited by W. P. Strickland; published by Tidball and Turner. Begun in 1854.

The Diadem. Attica, Ohio, J. C. Mitchell, 1854.

The Literary Messenger. Versailles, Indiana, Ross Alley, 1854.

The Western Literary Cabinet. Detroit, Michigan, Mrs. Sheldon, 1854.

The Home Journal. Cincinnati, Alf Burnett and Enos B. Reed, 1855.

The Western Art Journal. Cincinnati. Edited by Rev. W. P. Strickland; published by J. S. Babcock. 1855.

The Message Bird. Waynesville, Ohio, J. W. Roberts, 1856 to 1860.

The Dial: A Monthly Magazine for Literature, Philosophy and Religion. Cincinnati, M. D. Conway, January to December, 1860.

BOOK NOTES.

*** *Any book mentioned in this department can be obtained through the Publisher of the* QUARTERLY.

AMERICAN STATE CONSTITUTIONS; A Study of their Growth. By Henry Hitchcock, LL. D. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1887.

This little volume is No. XXXVII of "Questions of the Day." It is an interesting study of certain currents of political thought in the United States, as seen in State Constitutions, and was originally delivered as an address before the New York State Bar Association. Private conversation, the utterances of public journals, party platforms, the speeches of party readers, and particularly statutory legislation are a meter of the movement of political thought; but, manifestly, this meter is a poor one as compared with "the conclusions of a free people as to what changes in their organic law will best promote the common welfare." "Wise or unwise, wholesome or dangerous, these conclusions reveal, in some measure at least," says Mr. Hitchcock, "the drift of that people's thought,—the goal to which, consciously or unconsciously, it is tending; as Agassiz demonstrated from the sluggish flow of the Mer de Glace past the stakes which he had planted at its former verge, not only that the large glacier was a slowly moving river of ice, but also the rate and direction of its irresistible drift into the valley beneath." Mr. Hitchcock finds that in the one hundred and ten years since the Declaration of Independence, "the total number of distinct constitutions, either newly adopted or completely revised, which have been promulgated in these thirty-eight states is one hundred and nine," and to these constitutions "two hundred and fourteen partial amendments have been adopted at different times, some of less and some of greater importance." To measure the direction and volume of political thought is an important office of history, and we are glad to commend this "study" to such of our readers as are interested in such subjects as the appointment and tenure of the judiciary, qualifications for the suffrage, and corporations. We notice two minor errors. The first Constitution of Ohio was not submitted to the people, as is implied on page 16; and in 1800 there were sixteen states in the Union, not fifteen, as stated on page 47. It is strange, indeed, that a New York man should forget Vermont, the admission of which to the Union caused that State, first and last, so much trouble.

THE AZTECS; their History, Manners and Customs. From the French of Lucien Biart. Authorized translation by J. L. Garner. Pp. 333. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1887.

In this book a brief history of the Aztecs is followed by a description of their government, industries, arts, religious and social customs. While containing little that is really new, the work will prove instructive to most readers, and owing to its compact form will be useful, and as valuable, probably, as any work that cites no authorities, and hence gives the reader no guides for verifying or amplifying its statements.

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THE WESTERN LAND POLICY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT FROM 1763 TO 1775.

THE ink with which the treaty of Paris was written was hardly dry when Great Britain took a very important step in the line of a new land policy. Just how much this step meant at the time, is a matter of dispute, but the consequences flowing from it were such as to mark it a distinct new departure.

Previous to the French and Indian war, England had virtually affirmed the principle that the discoverer and occupant of a coast was entitled to all the country back of it; she had carried her colonial boundaries through the continent from sea to sea; and, as against France, had maintained the original chartered limits of her colonies. Moreover, the grant to the Ohio Company in 1748 proves that she had then no thought of preventing over-mountain settlements, or of limiting the expansion of the colonies in that direction. But now that France had retired from the field vanquished, and the war had left her in undisputed possession of the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, England began to see things in new relations. In fact, the situation was materially changed. Canada and Florida were now British dependencies, and governments must be provided for them. The Indians of

the West were discontented and angry; and, strange to say, at the very moment that they lost the support of France, they formed, under Pontiac, the most widespread combination that they ever formed against the British power. Then the strength and resource that the Colonies had shown in the war had both pleased and disturbed the Mother Country; pleased her because they contributed materially to the defeat of France, and disturbed her because they portended a still larger growth of that spirit of independence which had already become somewhat embarrassing. The eagerness with which the Virginians and Pennsylvanians were preparing to enter the Ohio Valley, in the years 1748–1754, told England what might be expected, now that France had withdrawn, and the whole country lay open to the Mississippi. The home government undertook to meet the occasion with the royal proclamation of October 7, 1763.

After congratulating his subjects upon the great advantages that must accrue to their trade, manufactures, and navigation from the new acquisitions of territory, His Majesty proceeded to constitute four new governments, three of them on the Continent and one in the West Indies. His new possessions on the Gulf he divided into East Florida and West Florida, by the Appalachicola River, and separated them from his possessions to the north by the thirty-first parallel from the Mississippi River to the Chattahooche, by that stream to its confluence with the Flint, by a straight line drawn from this point to the source of the St. Marys, and then by the St. Marys to the Atlantic Ocean. The next year, in consequence of representations made to him that there were considerable settlements north of the thirty-first parallel that should be included in West Florida, he drew the northern boundary of that province through the mouth of the Yazoo. The territory lying between the Altamaha and St. Marys Rivers, so long the subject of dispute between Spain and England, as well as between South Carolina and Georgia, was given to Georgia. It was the proclamation of 1763 that first defined what afterwards became the southern boundary of the United States. As I shall have occa-

sion to refer to them again, it will be well to give the limits of Quebec in the words of the proclamation.

"The Government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador coast by the River St. John, and from thence to a line drawn from the head of that river, through the Lake St. John, to the south end of the Lake Nipissim; from whence the said line crossing the River St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain, in forty-five degrees of north latitude, passes along the highlands which divide the rivers that empty themselves into the said river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the sea; and also along the north coast of the Baie des Chaleurs, and the coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the mouth of the River St. Lawrence by the west end of the Island of Anticosti, terminates at the aforesaid River St. John."[1]

The King gives directions for constituting the governments of the new provinces. He also instructs the royal governors to grant lands to the officers and men who have served in the army and navy in the war, according to a prescribed schedule. His Majesty then comes to the new departure.

"We do, therefore, with the advice of our privy council, declare it to be our royal will and pleasure, that no governor or commander-in-chief, in any of our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any pretense whatever, to grant warrants of survey, or pass any patents for lands beyond the bounds of their respective governments, as described in their commissions; as also that no governor or commander-in-chief of our other colonies or plantations in America, do presume, for the present, and until our further pleasure be known, to grant warrants of survey, or pass patents for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest; or upon any lands whatever, which not having been ceded or purchased by us," etc.[2]

Just what was the meaning of this prohibition has been a matter of dispute from that day to this; the opinions of the disputants depending, often at least, upon the relation of those opinions to other matters of interest. Solicitude for the Indians, and anxiety for the peace and safety of the colonies, are the reasons alleged in the proclamation itself. The "whereas" introducing the proclamation says it is essential to the royal interest and the security of the colonies that the tribes of Indians living under the King's protection shall not be molested or disturbed in the possession of such parts

[1] The Annual Register, 1763.

[2] The Annual Register, 1763.

of his dominions and territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by him, are reserved to them as their hunting grounds; and a declaration follows the prohibition that it is his royal will and pleasure, for the present, to reserve under his sovereign protection and dominion, for the use of the said Indians, all the lands within the new governments, within the limits of the Hudson Bay Company, and lying beyond the sources of the rivers falling into the sea from the west and northwest. The King strictly forbids his loving subjects making any purchases or settlements whatever, or taking possession of any of the lands described, without his special leave and license; and he further enjoins all persons who have seated themselves upon any of the lands so reserved to the Indians, forthwith to abandon them. If at any time the Indians are inclined to dispose of their lands, they shall be purchased only in the King's name, by the governor or commander-in-chief of the colony within which the lands lie. The proclamation winds up with some wholesome regulations respecting the Indian trade.

No doubt a desire to conciliate the Indians was one of the motives that led to the prohibition of 1763. But was it the only motive? Was it also the royal intention permanently to sever the lands beyond the sources of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic from the old colonies within whose charter limits they lay? and when the time should come to cut them up into new and independent governments?

"The Annual Register" for 1763 says many reasons may be assigned for the prohibition. It states the necessity of quieting the Indians, and then presents the desirability of limiting the from-sea-to-sea boundaries. Obviously, Edmund Burke, or whoever else wrote the "Register's" review for that year, thought the prohibition meant something more than simply to guard the rights of the Indians.[1] Washington, on the other hand, wrote to his Western land agent, Col. Crawford, in 1767: "I can never look upon that proclamation in any other light (but this I say between ourselves)

[1] Annual Register, 1763, 20.

than a temporary expedient to quiet the minds of the Indians. It must fall, of course, in a few years, especially when those Indians consent to our occupying the lands."[1] The authors of the Report on the Territorial Limits of the United States, made to Congress January 2, 1782, examined the proclamation very thoroughly, and came to the same conclusion that Washington had arrived at fifteen years before. They declare the king's object to have been "to keep the Indians in peace, not to relinquish the rights accruing under the charters, and especially that of pre-emption."[2] Dr. Franklin held the same view, as we shall soon see. Mr. Bancroft says the West "was shut against the emigrant from fear that colonies in so remote a region could not be held in dependence. England, by war, had conquered the West, and a ministry had come which dared not make use of the conquest."[3] No matter what the proclamation meant, it was a great disappointment to the colonies. "Wherein are we better off, as respects the Western country," they said in substance, "than we were before the war?"

No man of his time more thoroughly comprehended the Western question than Dr. Franklin. He wrote the Plan of Union adopted by the Albany Congress in 1754, and an exposition of the same. This "plan" placed the regulation of the Indian trade, the purchasing of Indian lands, and the planting of new settlements under the control of the Union. Franklin supported this part of the scheme with the obvious arguments. A single colony could not be expected to extend itself into the West; but the Union might establish a new colony or two, greatly to the security of the frontiers, to increase of population and trade, and to breaking the French connections between Canada and Louisiana.[4]

Soon after the Albany Congress, Franklin wrote his "Plan for Settling two Western Colonies in North America, with Reasons for the Plan." He says the country back of the

[1] Butterfield: Washington–Crawford Letters, 3.
[2] Secret Journals of Congress, III, 154.
[3] Bancroft, III, 32, (1885.)
[4] Sparks: Writings of Franklin, III, 32–55.

Appalachian mountains must become, perhaps in another century, a populous and powerful dominion, and a great accession of power to either England or France. If the English delay to settle that country, great inconveniences and mischiefs will arise. Confined to the region between the sea and the mountains, they can not much more increase in numbers owing to lack of room and subsistence. The French will increase much more, and become a great people in the rear of the English. He therefore recommends that the English take immediate possession of the country, and proceed at once to plant two strong colonies, one on the Ohio and one on Lake Erie. The new colonies will soon be full of people; they will prevent the disasters sure to follow if the French are allowed to have their way in the West; the Ohio country will be a good base for operations against Canada and Louisiana in case of war; the new colonies will promote the increase of Englishmen, of English trade, and of English power. Franklin assumes that the from-sea-to-sea charters are still in force, and argues that they must be limited by the Western mountains. The tract closes with a plea for urgency.[1] War with the French had now begun, and new colonies were necessarily postponed until the sword should decide the destiny of the West. But Franklin still kept the subject in mind. In 1756 he wrote to Rev. George Whitfield:

"I sometimes wish that you and I were jointly employed by the Crown to settle a colony on the Ohio. I imagine that we could do it effectually, and without putting the nation to much expense; but I fear we shall never be called upon for such a service. What a glorious thing it would be to settle in that fine country a large, strong body of religious and industrious people! What a security to the other colonies and advantage to Britain, by increasing her people, territory, strength, and commerce! Might it not greatly facilitate the introduction of pure religion among the heathen, if we could, by such a colony, show them a better sample of Christians than they commonly see in our Indian traders?—the most vicious and abandoned wretches of our nation!"[2]

Immediately after Wolfe's victory in 1759, men on both

[1] Sparks, III, 69–77.

[2] Bigelow: Works of Franklin, II, 467.

sides of the Ocean began to speculate upon the terms of the peace that they saw must soon come. It seemed inevitable that England would be able to dictate her own terms to her old enemy; and the question arose what territorial indemnities and securities she should exact. More specifically, the question arose whether Canada should be retained or returned to France in exchange for Gaudaloupe. Two or three pamphlets discussing this question appeared in London. To one of them, published without a name, but sometimes ascribed to Edmund Burke, that advocated the surrender of Canada, Franklin wrote a reply that he entitled "The Interest of Great Britain Considered with Regard to the Colonies and the Acquisition of Canada and Gaudaloupe," but that is commonly called "The Canada Pamphlet." A rapid review of this exceedingly vigorous production will throw much light upon the state of opinion touching the West both in America and in Europe.

Franklin holds, in opposition to his antagonist, that England may properly demand Canada as an indemnification, although she had not, in the outset, put forward such an acquisition as one of the objects of the war. He argues that the relations of England and France in America are such as to prevent a lasting peace, declaring that such a peace can come only when the whole country is subject to the English government. Disputes arising in America will be the occasion of European wars. Wars between the two powers originating in Europe will extend to America, and give opportunities for third powers to interfere. The boundaries between the English and French in North America can not be so drawn as to prevent quarrels. The frontier must necessarily be more than fifteen hundred miles in length. Happy was it for both Holland and England that the Dutch, in 1674, ceded New Netherlands to the English; since that time peace between them had continued unbroken, which would have been impossible if the Dutch had continued to hold that province, separating, as it did, the eastern and middle British colonies.

Franklin next contends that erecting forts in the back set-

tlements will not prove a sufficient security against the French and Indians, but the possession of Canada implies every security. The possession of that province, and that alone, can give the English colonies in America peace.

He then devotes several pages to the proposition that the blood and treasure spent in the war were not spent in the cause of the colonies alone. This is in reply to the argument that the interests at stake in the war were rather colonial than British or imperial. The retention of Canada will widen the landed opportunities of the colonists, and will tend to keep them agricultural and to prevent manufactures. Franklin then enunciates a proposition that would make Pennsylvania economists of to-day stare and gasp. "Manufactures are founded in poverty. It is the multitude of poor without land in a country, and who must work for others at low wages or starve, that enable undertakers to carry on a manufacture, and afford it cheap enough to prevent the importation of the same kind from abroad, and to bear the expense of its own exportation." He contends that the North American colonies are the western frontier of the British Empire; that they must be defended by the Empire for that reason, and that Canada will be a conquest for the whole, the advantage of which will come in increase of trade and ease of taxes.

To the argument that the colonies are large and numerous enough, and that the French ought to be left in North America to keep them in check, Franklin replies that, in time of peace, the colonists double by natural generation once in twenty-five years, and that they will probably continue to do so for a century to come; but that they will not cease to be useful to the Mother Country. On this point he accumulates a variety of information relating to the industrial and commercial possibilities of the country east of the Mississippi River that is as interesting as curious. One hundred millions of people can subsist in the agricultural condition east of that river and south of the Lakes and the St. Lawrence. The facilities for inland navigation are dwelt upon with admiration. Franklin dwells at much length upon the improbability of the people taking up manufactures,

and upon the vast quantities of British goods that they will be sure to buy and consume.

Having striven at such length to prove that the colonies would not be useless to the Mother Country, he now takes up the proposition that they will not be dangerous to her. This is the most delicate subject handled in the whole pamphlet, and one that attracted attention before the war began. Kalm, the Swedish naturalist who visited the Colonies in 1748, and who saw so much more than natural objects in the course of his travels, reports that in New York he found much doubt whether the King of England, if he had the power, would wish to drive the French out of Canada. Kalm thus expresses his own opinion: "As this whole country is toward the sea unguarded, and on the frontier is kept uneasy by the French, these dangerous neighbors are the reason why the love of these colonies for their metropolis does not utterly decline. The English government has, therefore, reason to regard the French in North America as the chief power that urges their colonies to submission."[1] It is well known Choiseul warned Stanley when the two ministers were discussing the treaty of 1763, that the English colonies in America "would not fail to shake off their dependence the moment Canada should be ceded."[2] This feeling was shared by many people in England, and it probably influenced those who said "Gaudaloupe, not Canada" quite as much as the superiority of the sugar trade to the fur trade. Such is a fair statement of the argument that Franklin sets himself to answer.

His reply is "that the colonies can not be dangerous to England without union, and that union is impossible." To prove that union is impossible, he sets forth the jealousies of the colonies, and the failure of all attempts hitherto made to bring them to act together. "There are now fourteen separate governments on the sea coast, and there will probably be as many more behind them on the inland side. These have different governors, different laws, different forms of

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[1] Bancroft: History, II, 310-311.

[2] Parkman: Montcalm and Wolfe, II, 403.

government, different interests, different religious persuasions, and different manners. If they could not agree to unite for their defense against the French and Indians, who were perpetually harrassing their settlements, burning their villages, and murdering their people, can it reasonably be supposed there is any danger of their uniting against their own nation, which protects and encourages them, with which they have many connections and ties of blood, interest, and affection, and which, it is well known, they all love more than they love one another?" And yet Franklin was careful to leave an open door through which he could have escaped the charge of inconsistency if such charge had been preferred a dozen years later. "When I say such a union is impossible, I mean without the most grievous tyranny and oppression." "The waves do not rise," he says, "but when the winds blow." What such an administration as the Duke of Alva's might bring about he does not know; but he has a right to deem that impossible. Under this head he answers the argument "that the remoteness of the Western territories will bring about their separation from the mother country." "While our strength at sea continues, the banks of the Ohio, in point of easy and expeditious conveyance of troops, are nearer to London than the remote parts of France and Spain to their respective capitals, and much nearer than Connought and Ulster were in the days of Queen Elizabeth." Of the two the presence of the French in Canada will engender disaffection in the colonies rather than prevent it. The only check on their growth that the French could possibly be, is the check furnished by blood and carnage.

Franklin then argues that Canada can be easily peopled without draining Great Britain of any of her inhabitants. Last of all comes the proposition that the value of Gaudaloupe to Great Britain is much overestimated by those who prefer that island to Canada.

Many of the arguments contained in this famous pamphlet would now be set aside by an economist as fallacious; but, fallacious as they may be, they have that plain directness which, along with other qualities, rendered Franklin's political tracts

so convincing to the common mind. The pamphlet attracted great attention at the time, and "was believed," according to Dr. Sparks, "to have had great weight in the ministerial councils, and to have been mainly instrumental in causing Canada to be held at the peace."[1]

We come now to two series of transactions in which Franklin figured prominently, that relate more intimately to the matter in hand. Before entering upon them, however, it is necessary to state that at Fort Stanwix, in 1768, Sir William Johnson negotiated a treaty with the Six Nations, in which he secured a new boundary line between the lands that the Nations claimed in the West and the lands of the whites on the east, as follows: The Ohio and Allegheny Rivers from the mouth of the Cherokee, as the Tennessee was then called, to Kittanning, above Fort Pitt; thence by a direct line east to the west branch of the Susquehanna; thence through the mountains to the east branch, and on to the Delaware, and finally by the Delaware, the Tianaderher, and Canada Creek to Wood Creek, above Fort Stanwix. While this line left nearly one half of the State of New York in the hands of the Six Nations, it gave to the whites the whole southeastern half of the Ohio valley as far as the Tennessee. This line itself shows that the Nations regarded their Western possessions but lightly. It should be observed, also, that the alienation of their claim still left the English to deal with the Indians actually on the Western soil.

In 1765, Sir William Johnson, Governor Franklin, and other influential persons formed a project for establishing a new colony in the Illinois country. They applied to Dr. Franklin, then in London, acting as agent for Pennsylvania for assistance, and he entered warmly into the enterprise, in which he also had an interest. For a time the application for a grant of lands was regarded with much favor, but was finally rejected. The Doctor's letters to his son, in the years 1765–1767, report the progress of the negotiation, and throw a good deal of light on English opinion touching Western

[1] Sparks, IV, 1–53.

settlemen's. He found the following objections urged against the plan: (1) The distance would render such a colony of little use to England, as the expense of the carriage of goods would urge the people to manufacture for themselves; (2) The distance would also rend r it difficult to defend and govern the colony; (3) Such a colony might, in time, become troublesome and prejudicial to the British government; (4) There are no people to spare, either in England or the other colonies, to settle a new colony. Lord Hillsborough was terribly afraid of "dispeopling Ireland." To overturn these objections, Franklin brought forward the arguments with which we are now familiar. The London merchants, who were called upon for testimony, gave the unanimous opinion that colonies in the Illinois and at Detroit would enlarge British commerce. Franklin "reckoned" that there would be 63,000,000 acres of land in the proposed colony. He also reported an inclination on the part of ministers to abandon the Western posts as more expensive than useful, unless the colonies should see fit to keep them up at their own expense.[1] Fort Pitt was actually abandoned soon after.

In 1769 the proposition to establish a new colony was revived, but in a new form. Thomas Walpole, Samuel Wharton, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Pownal, and others petitioned the King for the right to purchase 2,400,000 acres of land on the south side of the Ohio River, on which to found a new government. After the delays incident to such business, this petition was granted by the King in council in 1772. Slow progress was made in perfecting the details; but the price of the land was finally fixed, the plan of government agreed upon, and the patent actually made ready for the seals, when the Revolution broke out, and dashed the new colony forever. Walpole, the leading promoter of the scheme, was an eminent London banker, and the company and grant were commonly called by his name. The company called itself the "Grand Company," and proposed to name

[1]Sparks, IV., 233–241.

the colony "Vandalia." Although the project finally failed, its history presents some exceedingly interesting features. It should be observed that the Ohio Company of 1748, that had been kept alive thus far, although thwarted in its original purposes by the French war, was absorbed in this new enterprise.

In May, 1770, the Privy Council referred the Walpole petition to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations; and two years later their Lordships made an elaborate report, drawn by their president, Lord Hillsborough. This report objected to the petition, that the tract of land prayed for lay partly within the dominion of Virginia south of the Ohio; that it extended several degrees of longitude westward from the mountains; and that a considerable part of it lay beyond the line that had been drawn between His Majesty's territories and the hunting grounds of the Six Nations and the Cherokees. Besides, to grant the petition would be to abandon the principle adopted by the Board of Trade, and approved by His Majesty at the close of the war. "Confining the Western extent of settlements to such a distance from the sea coast as that those settlements should be within the reach of the trade and commerce of this Kingdom, upon which the strength and riches of it depend," and also within "the exercise of that authority and jurisdiction which was conceived to be necessary for the preservation of the colonies in due subordination to, and dependence upon, the Mother Country,"— are declared the "two capital objects" of the proclamation of 1763. Lord Hillsborough indeed admits that the line agreed upon at Fort Stanwix, in 1768, is, in the southwest, far beyond the sources of the rivers that flow into the Atlantic; but since this Stanwix line still further restricts the Indians' hunting grounds, he sees in it a new reason for adhering closely to the restrictive policy. His Lordship declares the proposition to form inland colonies in America "entirely new;" he says the great object of the North American colonies is to improve and extend the commerce, navigation, and manufactures of England; shore colonies he approves because they fulfill this condition, and inland

colonies he condemns because they will not fulfill it. To the argument that settlers are flowing westward, and that Western settlements are inevitable, Lord Hillsborough replies that His Majesty should take every method to check the progress of such settlements, and should not make grants of land that will have an immediate tendency to encourage them. The report closes with a recommendation that the Crown immediately issue a new proclamation forbidding all persons taking up or settling on lands west of the line of 1763.

It would be hard to say whether this report won for its author the wider fame by reason of its odious application of the doctrines of the colonial system to the question of Western settlements, or by reason of the crushing reply that it called out from Dr. Franklin. Before taking up that reply, however, the remark is pertinent that Lord Hillsborough's notion that royal proclamations were going to keep the adventurous people of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas out of the Western country, is one of a multitude of proofs of the incapacity of the British mind, at that time, to understand American questions. It was only less absurd than Dean Tucker's famous plan for guarding the frontier against the incursions of the Indians, viz: that the trees and bushes be cut away from a strip of land a mile in breadth along the back of the colonies from Maine to Georgia.[1]

Franklin begins his reply with correcting the noble Lord's ideas of American geography. The land asked for lies between the Allegheny mountains and the Ohio River, which are separated, "on a medium," by not more than a degree and a half. The grant will not be an invasion of the dominion of Virginia, because that colony is bounded on the west by the mountains. The country west of the Alleghanies was in the possession of the Indians previous to the Stanwix treaty, and since that time the King has not given it to Virginia. To support the proposition that Virginia does not extend beyond the mountains, which is absolutely essential to his argument, he draws out a territorial history of the re-

[1]Sparks: Writings of Franklin, III, 48, 49.

gion within which the grant will fall, entirely ignoring the Virginia charter of 1609.

1. The country southward of the Great Kanawha, as far as the Tennessee River, originally belonged to the Shawanese Indians.

2. The Six Nations, beginning about the year 1664, carried their victorious arms over the whole country, from the Great Lakes to the latitude of Carolina, and from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. They, therefore, became possessed of the lands in question by right of conquest.

3. Much stress is laid on the English protectorate over the Six Nations, acknowledged by the French in 1713, and by the Indians in 1726. When the French came into Western Pennsylvania, in 1754, the English held them invaders on the express ground that the country belonged to their allies and dependents. This was the view held by the British court when discussing the subject with Paris in 1755. In the French and Indian war the English had simply maintained their old rights; they expelled the French from the West as intruders, and held the country not by conquest, but by the Iroquois title. At Fort Stanwix the Iroquois sold to the Crown all their lands southwest of the Ohio, as far down as the Tennessee. The Crown is, therefore, vested with the undoubted right and property of those lands, and can do with them what it pleases.

4. The Cherokees never resided or hunted in the country between the Kanawha and the Tennessee, and had no right to it. The claim that this region ever belonged to the Cherokees is a fiction altogether new and indefensible, invented in the interest of Virginia. When that government saw that it was likely to be confined on the west by the mountains in consequence of the Stanwix purchase, it set up the Cherokee title in opposition to that of the Northern Indians.

5. Nor do the Six Nations, the Shawanese, or the Delawares now reside or hunt in the region where the grant will fall.

Franklin's object is to find room for the new colony between

the Alleghanies and the Ohio. He follows closely the facts of history touching the matter immediately in hand. The Iroquois had pretended to own the whole West north of the Cumberland Mountains, and the British and Colonial governments had humored them in that pretention. But the Iroquois never occupied the Ohio valley, while the Indians who were occupying it did not acknowledge the Iroquois title. The signers to the Stanwix treaty were all Iroquois, the Delaware and Shawanese delegates present at the council refusing, or at least neglecting, to sign. But granting that the British-Iroquois title was perfectly good as against the French and other Indians, it had no force as against Virginia. The right that priority of discovery gave the discoverer was the right of pre-emption, and the fact that the Indian title to the Ohio valley was acquired long after the Virginia charter in no way affected the rights of Virginia, if she ever had any. If the English had waited to acquire Indian titles before sending over colonists, America would be a wilderness at this day. Even the humane Penn first sent over his colony, two thousand strong, and then treated with the Indians. Franklin had himself, in 1754, expressly acknowledged the binding force of the from sea-to-sea charters until they should be duly limited. It is hard to see, therefore, that the Fort Stanwix purchase affected Virginia's rights, unless it be claimed that the purchase was made by a royal officer at the expense of the Crown, and not by the colony at her own expense; but it must be remembered that, at this time, the Crown had taken Indian affairs out of the hands of the colonies, and that New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut never regarded the purchase as at all easing their rights in the Northwest. At the same time, Franklin's reasoning was admirably adapted to his immediate purpose.

Franklin restates the old arguments in favor of interior settlements, and after a thorough examination of the whole subject, comes to the conclusion that the proclamation of 1763 was intended solely to pacify the Indians at a critical time, and that the Stanwix treaty has set the proclamation line effectually aside. Looking into the West, he

reports that in the years 1765–1768 great numbers of the King's subjects from Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were settling over the mountains; that this emigration led to great irritation among the Indians; that the emigrants refused to obey the proclamations issued ordering them to return to the other side of the King's line; that attempts to remove them by force ended only in failure; that these frontier troubles were among the causes that led to the Stanwix treaty; that the said treaty, negotiated by Sir William Johnson under express orders from the home government, proves that the permanent exclusion of settlers from the Western country could not have been intended in 1763. The Doctor states that Pennsylvania had made it felony to occupy Indian lands within the limits of that colony; that the Governor of Virginia had commanded settlers to vacate all Indian lands within the limits of his goverement, and that General Gage had twice sent soldiers to remove the settlers from the country of the Monongahela, but all these efforts to enforce the restrictive policy had proved unavailing. He asserts that the object of the Stanwix purchase was to avert "an Indian rupture, and give an opportunity to the King's subjects quietly and lawfully to settle thereon."

Franklin does not fail to convict the Board of Trade of inconsistency. In 1748 it was anxious to promote settlements in the Ohio Valley; in 1768 it was of the opinion that the inhabitants of the middle colonies should be permitted gradually to extend themselves backward; in 1770 Lord Hillsborough recommended a new colony, and then two years later he made to the council the adverse report to which Franklin is now replying. The promoters of the colony have no idea, he says, of draining Great Britain or the old colonies of their population. That will be wholly unnecessary. If the colony is planted the colonists will not become lawless or rebellious, because they will be subject to government; but if the present restriction be continued the country will become the resort of desperate characters. Moreover, there is already a considerable population in the very district that the petitioners pray for, and if these lawless people are not soon in-

cluded in a government, an Indian war will be the consequence. They are beyond the jurisdiction of Virginia, and her jurisdiction can not be extended over them without great difficulty, if at all. Hence, the only way to prevent the region in question becoming the home of violence and disorder is to establish a new government there.

Many pages of Franklin's paper are devoted to the economical bearings of the proposed colony. He does not deny the doctrines of the colonial system; he rather assumes them; but he contradicts Hillsborough's applications of the doctrines to the matter in hand. On these points he presents a mass of information concerning the Ohio country and its capabilities, its relations to the commercial world, methods of reaching it, etc., that makes the report exceedingly readable even at this day.

Franklin's reply to Hillsborough, read in council July 1, 1772, immediately led to granting the Walpole petition. His Lordship, who had considered his own report overwhelming, at once resigned his office in disgust and mortification. Hillsborough, it is said, "had conceived an idea, and was forming the plan of a boundary line to be drawn from the Hudson River to the Mississippi, and thereby confining the British colonists between that line and the Ocean, similar to the scheme of the French after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which brought on the war of 1756." The fact is, the British government had borrowed from the French their restrictive scheme.[1]

It appears from Franklin's pamphlet that the Virginia government was disturbed by the proceedings at Fort Stanwix in 1768. It was still more seriously disturbed by the proceedings of Walpole and his associate in London in 1770–72. On April 15, 1770, George Washington wrote a letter to Lord Botetourt, the governor, explaining how the Walpole grant would affect that colony. He says the boundary would run through the pass of the Onasioto Mountains near to the latitude of North Carolina; thence northeast to the Kanawha at

[1] The Hillsborough report, Franklin's reply, and the 1763 proclamation are in Sparks, IV, 302, *et seq.*

the junction of New River and the Green Briar; thence by the Green Briar and a due east line drawn from the head of that river to the Alleghany Mountains, after which the boundaries will be Lord Fairfax's line, the lines of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the Ohio River. to the place of beginning—a large surface, surely, over which to spread 2,400,000 acres of land. Washington says that many Virginians are settled on New River and Green Briar upon lands that Virginia has already patented. He declares that the grant will give a fatal blow to the interests of Virginia. Having thus delivered his "sentiments as a member of the community at large," he begs leave to address his Excellency from "a more interested point of view," alleging that the 200,000 acres of land promised the Virginia troops called out in 1754 lie within these very limits. He protests earnestly against any interference with the rights of these men, and prays his Lordship's interposition with His Majesty to have these lands confirmed to the claimants and rightful owners. Washington continued to watch the new colony with a lively interest. In a letter to Lord Dunmore, written June 15, 1771, he says the report gains ground that the grant will be made and the colony established, and declares again that the plan will essentially interfere with the interests and expectations of Virginia. He also renews his plea in behalf of the officers and soldiers of 1754.[1]

The facts now presented show conclusively that in the years following the French war the Western policy of the British was not steady or consistent, but fitful and capricious; prompted by a solicitude for the Indian that was partly feigned, and partly by a growing jealously of the shore colonies. Vandalia was the more welcome to the Council because it would limit Virginia on the west, and so weaken her influence.

The policy of restriction culminated in 1774 in the Quebec Act. This act guaranteed to the Catholic Church in the province of Quebec the possession of its vast prop-

[1] The two letters are found side by side in Sparks' Writings of Washington, II, 355–361.

erty, said to equal one-fourth of the old French grants; it confirmed the Catholic clergy in the rights and privileges that they had enjoyed under the *old regime;* it set aside the provisions of the proclamation of 1763, creating representative government, and restored the French system of laws; it committed taxation to a council appointed by the Crown; it abolished trial by jury in civil cases; and, finally, it extended the province on the north to Hudson Bay, and on the southwest and west to the Ohio and the Mississippi. Some features of this enactment can no doubt be successfully defended. As a whole it had two great ends. One was to propitiate the French population of Canada, to attach them by interest and sympathy to England, and so to prevent their making common cause with the Colonies in case worst should come to worst; the other was permanently to sever the West from the shore colonies, and put it in train for being cut up, when the time should come, into independent governments that should have their affiliations with the St. Lawrence Valley rather than with the Atlantic Slope. Here it may be observed that twice the Old Northwest was subject to a jurisdiction whose capital was on the St. Lawrence; once in the old French days, and once in the last year of the British control of the Colonies—a fact that shows how thoroughly the home government had adopted French ideas concerning the West.

The year 1774 is remarkable for odious colonial measures. It was the year of the Boston Port Bill and the Massachusetts Bay Bill; but no one of these measures was more odious to the colonists than the Quebec Act. They regarded the changes made in the government of Canada as a stroke at their own governments, while they looked upon the new boundaries as a final effort to wrest the West from them forever. The Act provoked a general outcry of denunciation. The youthful Hamilton made it the subject of one of his first political papers. The Continental Congress, enumerating "the acts of pretended legislation," to which the King had given his assent, included in the formidable list the act "for abolishing the free system of English laws

in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies." The Declaration of Independence arraigned the King on another charge. "He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage emigration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands." The presence of these counts in the indictment of 1776 shows the power with which the royal land policy had taken hold of the colonial mind. Those colonies that had definite Western boundaries joined in the indictment, as well as those that claimed to the Mississippi River. There was a universal feeling that "lands which had been rescued from the French by the united efforts of Great Britain and America, were now severed from their natural connections with the settlements of the sea-board, and formed into a vast inland province like the ancient Louisiana."[1]

The enlargement of the province was defended in Parliament, according to the "Annual Register," on the ground that there were French inhabitants beyond the proclamation limits of 1763 "who ought to have provision made for them; and that there was one entire colony at the Illinois." The "Register" thus sums up the objections of the opposition:

"Further they asked, why the proclamation limits were enlarged, as if it were thought that this arbitrary government could not have too extensive an object. If there be, which they doubted, any spots on which some Canadians are settled, provide, said they, for them; but do not annex to Canada immense territories now desert, but which are the best part of that continent, and which run on the back of all your ancient colonies. That this measure cannot fail to add to their other discontents and apprehensions, as they can attribute the extension given to an arbitrary military government, and to a people alien in origin, laws and religion, to nothing else but that design, of which they see but too many proofs already, of utterly extinguishing their liberties, and bringing them, by the arms of those very people, whom they had helped to conquer, into a state of the most abject vassalage.[2]

[1] Adams: Maryland's Influence on Land Cessions, 19.

[2] Annual Register, 1774, 76, 77.

But the Quebec Act never took effect. It was nullified by the Revolution. By and by, when the limits of the Thirteen Colonies, as they were after 1773, were set up as the criterion to determine the boundaries of the United States, England, France, and Spain, all took the position that the Royal Proclamation and the Quebec Act limited the States on the west. To this claim the replies, "The King's line of 1763 was a temporary expedient to quiet the Indians," and "The Quebec Act was one of the causes that brought on the war, and that we are fighting to resist," are pressed once and again in the American State papers of the period.

Even Lord Dunmore, that bitter enemy of the Colonies, and steadfast upholder of the British cause, ignored the Western policy of the home government. His personal characteristics, love of money and of power, contributed to this end. "His passion for land and fees," says Bancroft, "outweighing the proclamation of the King and reiterated most positive instructions from the Secretary of State, he supported the claims of the colony to the West, and was a partner in two immense purchases of land from the Indians in Southern Illinois. In 1773, his agents, the Bullets, made surveys at the Falls of the Ohio; and parts of Louisville and parts of the towns opposite Cincinnati are now held under his warrant." The Indian war, that takes its name from his Lordship, which was brought on by his own Western policy, was in controvention of the policy of the home government; and the historian just quoted goes so far as to say: "The royal Governor of Virginia, and the Virginian Army in the Valley of the Scioto, nullified the Act of Parliament which extended the Province of Quebec to the Ohio, and in the name of the King of Great Britain triumphantly maintained for Virginia the western and northwestern jurisdiction which she claimed as her chartered right." Virginia "applauded Dunmore when he set at naught the Quebec Act, and kept possession of the government and right to grant lands on the Scioto, the Wabash, and the Illinois."[1] Dun-

[1] Bancroft, IV, 82, 83, 88.

more's invasion of the Northwest, in 1774, added another link to the Virginia chain of titles to those regions. "From its second charter, the discoveries of its people, the authorized grants of its governors since 1746, the encouragement of its legislature to settlers in 1752–3, the promise of lands as bounties to officers and soldiers who served in the French war, and the continued emigration of its inhabitants, the Ancient Dominion derived its title to occupy the Great West."[1]

B. A. HINSDALE.

[1] Bancroft, III, 320.

SOME EARLY TRAVELERS AND ANNALISTS OF THE OHIO VALLEY.

In a letter to R. W. Emerson, dated July 8, 1851, Thomas Carlyle wrote as follows: "I lately read a small old brown French duodecimo, which I mean to send you by the first chance there is. The writer is a Capitaine Bossu: the production, a Journal of his experiences in 'La Louisiana,' 'Oyo' (Ohio,), and those regions, which looks very genuine, and has a strange interest to me, like some fractional Odyssey or letter. Only a hundred years ago, and the Mississippi has changed as never valley did: in 1751, older and stranger, looked at from *its* present date, than Balbec or Ninevah! Say what we will, Jonathan is doing miracles (of a sort) under the sun in these times now passing. Do you know *Bartram's Travels?* This is of the Seventies (1770) or so; treats of Florida chiefly, has a wondrous kind of floundering eloquence in it; and has also grown immeasurably *old*. All American libraries ought to provide themselves with that kind of book; and keep them as a kind of future biblical article."

Writing a month later to the same appreciative correspondent, the great Scotchman said: "Along with the sheets [of the life of Sterling] was a poor little French Book for you,—Book of a poor Naval *Mississippi* Frenchman, one 'Bossu' I think; written only a century ago, yet which already seemed old as the Pyramids in reference to those strange, fast-growing countries. I read it as a kind of defaced *romance;* very thin and lean, but all *true*, and very marvelous as such." The books[1] thus strikingly character-

[1]Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales, Contenant une Relation des differens Peuples qui habitent les environ du grande Flevre Saint Louis, appelle vulgairement le Mississippi; leur Religion; leur Gouvernement; leurs Guerres, leur Commerce. Par M. Bossu, Amsterdam, 1768.

Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Choctaws. Plates, 8vo. By William Bartram, London, 1792.

ized by the poet-historian of Craigenputtock, while they possess an interest to all Americans, and a certain historical value to the whole world, are of special significance to the student of western history, for they mark the period when travelers and explorers began to record observations taken in the Mississippi valley. Bossu was one of the first of the quite numerous French travelers who visited the interior of North America in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century and the beginning of the Nineteenth. The Bartrams, John, born in 1701, and William, born in 1739, were Pennsylvanians, and both were eminent botanists. The volume which so impressed Carlyle was first published in Philadelphia in 1791. Coleridge honored it with his praise, calling it a "work of high merit every way."

Seven years before the publication of *Bartram's Travels*, there was issued from the press a little volume of much historical interest, and which has now become such a rare curiosity that I here transcribe the complete title. "The Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of Kentucky; and an Essay towards the Topography and Natural History of that Important Country; By John Filson. To which is added an Appendix containing: I. The Adventures of Col. Daniel Boone, one of the First Settlers, comprehending every important Occurrence in the Political History of that Province. II. The Minutes of the Piankashaw Council, held at Post St. Vincent's, April 15, 1784. III. An Account of the Indian Nations inhabiting within the Limits of the Thirteen United States; their Manners and Customs; and Reflections on their Origin. IV. The Stages and Distances between Philadelphia and the Falls of Ohio; from Pittsburg to Pensacola, and several other Places. The whole illustrated by a new and accurate Map of Kentucky, and the Country adjoining, drawn from actual surveys. Wilmington, Printed by John Adams, 1784."

Very few copies of Filson's book and map are in existence, and a single copy of the work has been sold for as much as one hundred and twenty dollars. Next to nothing had been published, or was generally known about Filson until quite

recently, when Colonel R. T. Durrett gathered together the scanty memorials of the romantic pioneer, and gave them to the world in a small volume[1] put forth by the Filson Club, Louisville. From this volume (which contains a weird and shadowy portrait of John Filson) we learn that he was born near the Brandywine, Pennsylvania, about the year 1747, and that he came to Kentucky, probably in 1783, being then, perhaps, thirty-six years old. He formed the acquaintance of, and collected information from Daniel Boone, Levi Todd, James Harrod, Christopher Greenup, John Cowan, William Kennedy, and other pioneers. The adventures of Boone were related by that hero directly to the enterprising schoolmaster, speculator, and verse-maker, Filson, who published them, and who is therefore not only the first historian of Kentucky, but the original biographer of the typical backwoodsman of Literature. The narrative of Filson furnished the basis of Bryan's "Mountain Muse," one of the early attempts to put Western scenery and pioneer romance into verse. Having prepared his manuscript and map, the author returned to the East and had them published. The next year he turned his face westward, and proceeded from his home to Pittsburg in a Jersey wagon, and thence down the Ohio, to the mouth of Beargrass Creek, where Louisville now is, in a flat-boat. The entire journey consumed two months, from April 25 to June 27, 1785.

In the summer of the same year Filson went in a canoe to Vincennes, on the Wabash, and walked back through the woods to Beargrass. This journey of 450 miles he repeated in the autumn, the object of both excursions being to collect materials for a history of the Illinois country. On the first day of June, 1786, he set out from Vincennes for the Falls of the Ohio in a "perogue," accompanied by three men. The party were attacked by Indians, and compelled to land and take to the woods for safety. Filson, after many perils and sufferings, found his way back to Vincennes, exhausted

[1] John Filson, the First Historian of Kentucky. An Account of His Life and Writings, principally from Original Sources. Prepared for the Filson Club by Reuben T. Durrett. Louisville and Cincinnati, 1884.

with famine and sore with wounds. After this adventure, he returned safely to Kentucky, and again traveled over the long road to Philadelphia on horseback. In 1787 he once more appeared in the land of Boone, and advertised proposals in the *Kentucky Gazette* to start a classical academy in Lexington, the sylvan "Athens of the West." The project seems not to have been realized; but Filson was fertile in expedients, and soon he engaged in the important enterprise which fixed his name in history. In August, 1788, he went into partnership with Mathias Denman and Robert Patterson in the purchase of a tract of land on the north side of the Ohio River, opposite the mouth of the Licking, on which it was proposed to lay out the town of Losantiville, now Cincinnati. Filson invented the name Losantiville, which has been much ridiculed, but it is doubtful whether the word Cincinnati, which is either a genitive singular or a nominative plural, is not as absurd as the euphonious name compounded by the Lexington schoolmaster. Filson, who was a surveyor, marked out a road from Lexington to the mouth of the Licking, and, with his partners, arrived at the site of their town in September, and began to lay out streets, at least on paper. One of these was to be called Filson Avenue, but the name was changed to Plum street after Filson's tragic disappearance from the stage of affairs. The circumstances of his exit are shrouded in mystery. The supposition is that he fell a victim to the tomahawk and scalping-knife of some prowling savage. All that we know is that he set out alone to explore the solitudes of the Miami woods, and that he was seen no more by his white comrades. Nor was any trace of his body ever found.

I pass from the story of Filson to mention another traveler and writer who, in some sense, took up the historical and romantic *role* which Filson had ceased to play. George Imlay, a Captain in the American army, and commissioner for laying out lands in the back settlements, published, in the year 1792, a remarkably complete and entertaining book[1] on

[1] A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America, Containing an account of its Climate, Population, Manners and Customs, Etc. By Captain George Imlay. London, 1792.

Kentucky and the West. It was written in the form of a series of letters, and first appeared from a London press. This Captain Imlay was the man whose scandalous relation with and cruel abandonment of Mary Wollstonecroft once made a considerable excitement in the world. He met Miss Wollstonecroft in France, sometime in 1792, and the two formed a free-love alliance which Imlay broke, thereby causing the lady to make two attempts to commit suicide. She afterwards became the wife of the famous William Godwin, by whom she had a daughter who married the poet Shelley. Imlay was the author of a novel entitled "The Emigrants," which appeared in three volumes, in 1793.

To the second edition of Imlay's "America" was appended John Filson's "Kentucky." The work was furnished with several useful maps. Several of the chapters deal in general historical facts collected from other books. The writer dwells with prolix comment, on the American theory and form of government, and on systems of polity, religion, and society, evidently regarding himself as an authority in statesmanship and philosophy. His social views are extremely radical, and he indulges in divers rhapsodical flights on liberty, equality, fraternity and millenial virtue.

The interest of Imlay's book to readers of the present day consists in his descriptions of Kentucky, its products and people, as he saw them nearly a hundred years ago. It is pleasant, for instance, to read what he wrote of the cane-brakes that once covered many parts of the Ohio Valley, and which were of value as fodder. "The cane," he says, "is a reed that grows to the height frequently of ten or twelve feet, and it is in thickness from the size of a goose-quill to that of two inches in diameter. When it is slender, it never grows higher than from four to seven feet; it shoots up in one summer, but produces no leaves until the following year. It is an evergreen, and is, perhaps, the most nourishing food for cattle upon earth. No other milk or butter has such flavor and richness as that which is produced from cows which feed upon cane. Horses which feed upon it work nearly as well as if they were fed upon corn."

The Captain's style is often picturesque and vivid, but some of his delineations of primitive customs in Kentucky are probably touched with the hues of fancy. The following idylic paragraphs might have been written of Arcadia. "The season of sugar-making occupies the women whose mornings are cheered by the modulated buffoonery of the mocking-bird, the tuneful song of the thrush, and the gaudy plumage of the paroquet.—Festive mirth crowns the evening.—The business of the day being over, the men join the women in the sugar groves where enchantment seems to dwell.—The lofty trees wave their spreading branches over a green turf, on whose soft down the mildness of the evening invites the neighboring youth to sportive play; while our rural Nestors, with calculating minds, contemplate the boyish gambols of a growing progeny, they recount the exploits of their early age, and in their enthusiasm forget there are such things as decrepitude and misery. Perhaps a convivial song, or a pleasant narrative closes the scene.

"Rational pleasures meliorate the soul; and it is by familiarizing man with uncontaminated felicity, that sordid avarice and vicious habits are to be destroyed.

"Gardening and fishing constitute some part of the amusements of both sexes. Flowers and their genera form one of the studies of our ladies; and the embellishment of their houses with those which are known to be salutory constitute a part of their employment. Domestic cares and music fill up the remainder of the day, and social visits, without ceremony or form, leave them without ennui or disgust. Our young men are too gallant to permit the women to have separate amusements; and thus it is that we find that suavity and politeness of manners universal, which can only be effected by female polish.

"The autumn and winter produce not less pleasure. Evening visits mostly end with dancing by the young people, while the more aged indulge their hilarity, or disseminate information in the disquisition of politics, or some useful art or science.

"Such are the amusements of this country, which have for

their basis hospitality, and all the variety of good things which a luxuriant soil is capable of producing, without the alloy of that distress of misery which is produced from penury or want. Malt liquor, and spirits distilled from corn and the juice of the sugar tree, mixed with water, constitute the ordinary beverage of the country. Wine is too dear to be drank prodigally; but that is a fortunate circumstance, as it will be an additional spur to us to cultivate the vine."

Enough, and perhaps too much of Captain Imlay's rosy rhetoric. Let us turn from the perusal of his pages to the less florid volumes of his cotemporary, Harry Toulmin, another historiagrapher of Kentucky. He was an Englishman, a disciple and follower of Joseph Priestley. Migrating to Kentucky he took a leading part in the public affairs of the young state. For a time Toulmin was president of Transylvania University, at Lexington; and he afterwards became Secretary of State. A collection of the acts of the Kentucky Legislature, by him, was published at Frankfort in 1802. His "Description of Kentucky," and "Thoughts on Emigration," both published in London, in 1792, were valuable in their day in spreading knowledge of the West, and inducing immigration.

The celebrated naturalist F. A. Michaux, who, clad in a suit made of the skins of wild animals, traversed the Mississippi Valley, collecting materials for his "History of American Oaks," also published a book[1] of travels. The descriptions which he gave of the West, and of his experiences of log-cabin life, and woodland adventure, were much admired in his day, and are yet well worth reading.

Not less entertaining and more general in its scope was a book of travels by the French writer, C. F. Volney, a translation[2] of which appeared in 1804, and was very generally circulated.

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[1]Travels to the Westward of the Allegheny Mountains in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and return to Charleston through the Upper Carolinas. London, 1804.

[2]View of the Climate and Soil of the United States of America, with Remarks on Florida, By C. F. Volney. London, 1804.

There was published in 1808, a book[1] that created a sensation in the Ohio Valley, and particularly in Cincinnati. This was a pretentious but blundering narrative by Thomas Ashe, compiled from the "Navigator," and other books, with original statements based on insufficient observation, and not a few downright inventions of the author's fancy. For example, the Big Miami river is represented as flowing out of Lake Erie. Ashe went under the assumed name of D'Arville, and introduced himself by forged letters to leading citizens of the West. We are told by an early Western writer that this impostor "beguiled the late learned, ingenious, and excellent Dr. Goforth of his immense collection of mammoth bones, and made a fortune of them, and of his book, in London." E. D. Mansfield brands Ashe as the "first to discover that a book abusing the people of the United States would be profitable by its popularity." Daniel Drake, whose preceptor was the deluded Goforth, mentions Ashe, *alias* D'Arville, as that "swindling Englishman"; but the favorite appellation by which indignant Cincinnatians advertised the offending bone-stealer, was "the infamous Ashe." The London *Quarterly Review* said of Ashe and his "Travels": "He has spoiled a good book by engrafting incredible stories on authentic facts."

Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris's "Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Allegheny Mountains," 1805; Christian Schultz's "Inland Voyage from New York to the West and South," 1808; Daniel Drake's "Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami Country," 1815; and Timothy Flint's "Recollections" of travel and residence in the Mississippi Valley, and his "Geography and History of the Western States," are all works of importance for the useful matter they contain, and of interest, owing to their style of composition. They require more extended notice than it is within the scope of this article to give.

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[1] Travels in America, performed in 1806, for the purpose of Exploring the Rivers Allegheny, Monongahela, Ohio, and Mississippi, and ascertaining the Produce and Condition of their Banks and Vicinity. By Thomas Ashe, Esq. London, 1808.

In the year 1818, Morris Birbeck, an English speculator who founded the settlement of Albion, in Southern Illinois, published in London two little books, "Letters from Illinois," and "Notes on a Journey in America." These volumes were in motive similar to the writings Toulmin had produced in Kentucky thirty years before.

The various volumes of travel and exploration by Pike, Dana, Stoddart, Long, Schoolcraft, Lewis and Clarke, and others, which appeared from 1810 to 1814, though not treating especially of the Ohio Valley, furnished much history directly bearing upon common interests, and were widely read in Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The numerous letters, notes, journals, and books of travel and observation, such as I have mentioned, furnished the literary material on which local historians based more comprehensive works.

Humphrey Marshall published a formal "History of Kentucky,"[1] in 1812; and a more elaborate one[2] in 1824. Humphrey Marshall, a relative of Chief Justice John Marshall, was a distinguished politician and orator. He was elected to the United States Senate over John Breckenridge for the term 1795–1801. He once fought a duel with Henry Clay. Marshall died in 1842, at the advanced age of eighty-two. His history has a force and piquancy that makes it readable to-day, and the bias in favor of Federalism adds a relish to its pages like that which one discovers in Hildreth's "United States."

Another historian of comparatively early time in Kentucky was Mann Butler, the father of Noble Butler, and a pioneer who deserves to be remembered for his virtues and services. Butler was born in Baltimore in 1784; visited England in boyhood; graduated at St. Mary's College, D. C.; came

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[1]The History of Kentucky, Including an Account of the Discovery, Settlement, and Present State of the Country. By Humphrey Marshall. Frankfort, 1812.

[2]The History of Kentucky. An Account of the Modern Discovery, Settlement, Progressive Improvement, Civil and Military Transactions, and the Present State of the Country. Two vols. Frankfort, 1824.

West in 1806, and began the practice of law at Lexington; taught school at Marysville, Versailles, and Frankfort; served some years as professor at Transylvania University; located at Louisville, where he was a prominent educator and writer from 1831 to 1845; removed to St. Louis, where he resided from 1845 to the year of his death, 1852.

Butler's history[1] is agreeably written, and is specially interesting on account of its descriptions of life in the backwoods.

The History of Kentucky, by Judge Lewis Collins, first issued in 1847 (revised and enlarged fourfold, and brought down to 1874 by Dr. Richard Collins), gathers up all the fragments of Kentucky history, new and old, and is a standard reference book.

Turning our attention to the historical bibliography of the States north of the Ohio River, we find among the names of early annalists that of Nahum Ward, who, as early as 1822, published a "Brief Sketch of the State of Ohio," a book now hard to obtain. The "Preliminary Sketch of the History of Ohio," contained in the "Statutes of Ohio and of the Northwestern Territory," edited by Salmon P. Chase, and published at Cincinnati in 1833, is justly regarded as a standard of reference that can be relied on, and it is, in fact, the first systematic presentation of Ohio's history. Before it was issued, however, Mr. John H. James, of Urbana, had began to print, in Hall's Western Magazine, his chapters on the history of the Buckeye State. The "History of the State of Ohio; Natural and Civil," by Caleb Atwater, which is reckoned among our pioneer books, was brought out in 1838; and Henry Howe's compendious volume, a most serviceable work, was originally published in 1848. In the same year the Historical Society of Ohio published Samuel Prescott Hildreth's "Pioneer History of the Ohio Valley," which, with its companion volume, "Biographical and Historical Memoirs of the Pioneers," takes high rank among writings of its class. Judge Jacob Burnet's "Notes on the Early

[1] A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, from its Exploration and Settlement by the Whites to the Close of the Northwestern Campaign in 1813. By Mann Butler. Louisville, 1834.

Settlement of the Northwestern Territory," (1847), is also a useful contribution to our stock of pioneer histories. J. W. Taylor's "History of the State of Ohio," though it treats of the earliest period of the State's history, can not be regarded as an old book, for it was published in 1854, less than fifty years ago.

Most prominent of the early historians of Indiana, was John B. Dillon, whose career falls in quite recent years, and whose first important book came out in 1843. This was the initial volume of a projected elaborate work which was never completed. The author, however, published, in 1859, a "History of Indiana from its Earliest Explorations to the Close of the Territorial Government in 1815." Dillon wrote other historical books. He was a most amiable gentleman, and a useful citizen. For many years he was State Librarian of Indiana.

Illinois is quite rich in historical records. Having white settlements in the southern part at a very early date, the Illinois country became the subject of much attention by travelers and writers. I have referred to the letters of Morris Birbeck, which date back as far as 1818. The Rev. John Mason Peck, a distinguished Baptist missionary and educator, wrote "A Guide for Emigrants; Containing Sketches of Illinois, Missouri, and the adjacent Posts," which was published in Boston in 1831; and also a "Gazetteer of Illinois," published in 1834. Henry Brown's "Illinois," came out in 1844.

A book valued for its historical information, and amusing as a literary curiosity, is "The Pioneer History of Illinois," written by John Reynolds, one of the early Governors of Illinois, an illiterate man of strong common sense. The volume was published at Belleville, Illinois, in 1852, and contains the history of Illinois from 1673 to 1818. The author says, "My friends will think it strange that I have written a book, no matter how small and unpretending it may be." He justifies his effort on the score that "many facts stated in the 'Pioneer History,' since the year 1800, came under my own observation, which may be relied on as true.'

Recounting his personal history he says, "The first Illinois soil I ever touched was on the bank of the Ohio, where Golconda now stands, in March 1800. When we were about to start from the Ohio, I asked Mr. Lusk how far it was to the next house on the road, and when he told us the first was Kaskaskia, one hundred and ten miles, I was surprised at the wilderness before us. My father hired a man to assist us in traveling through the wilderness. We were four weeks in performing this dreary and desolate journey."

Governor Reynolds gives the following quaint description of the French settlers of Illinois: "The French seldom plowed with horses, but used oxen. It is the custom with the French everywhere to yoke oxen by the horns, and not by the neck. Oxen can draw as much by the horns as by the neck, but it looks more savage. Sometimes the French worked oxen in carts, but mostly used horses. I presume that a wagon was not seen in Illinois for nearly one hundred years after its first settlement. A French cart as well as a plough, was rather a curiosity. It was constructed without an atom of iron. When the Americans came to the country they called these carts 'barefooted carts,' because they had no iron on their wheels." * * * * * *

"The French generally, and the females of that nation particularly, caught up the French fashions from New Orleans and Paris, and with a singular avidity adopted them to the full extent of their means and talents. The females generally, and the males a good deal, wore the deer skin mawkawsins. A nicely made mawkawsin for a female in the house is both neat and serviceable."

* * * * * * "The ancient and innocent custom was for the young men about the last of the year to disguise themselves in old clothes, as beggars, and go around the village in the several houses where they knew they would be welcome. They enter the houses dancing what they call the *Gionie*, which is a friendly request for them to meet and have a ball to dance away the old year. The people, young and old meet, each one carrying along some refreshment, and then they do, in good earnest, dance away the old year.

About the 6th of January, in each year, which is called *Le jour de Rais*, a party is given, and four beans are baked in a large cake; this cake is distributed among the gentlemen, and each one who receives a bean is proclaimed king. These four kings are to give the next ball. These are called "King's balls." These Kings select each one a queen, and make her a suitable present. They arrange all things necessary for the dancing party. In these merry parties no set supper is indulged in. They go there not to eat, but to be and make merry. They have refreshments of cake and coffee served round at proper intervals. Sometimes Bouillon, as the French call it, takes the place of coffee. Towards the close of the party, the old queens select each one a new King, and kisses him to qualify him into office; then each new King chooses his new Queen, and goes through the ceremony as before. In this manner the King balls are kept up all the carnival."

Another Illinois Governor, Thomas Ford, wrote a history of the state, which was published at Chicago in 1854.

Illinois is deeply indebted to the literary industry and enterprise of Judge James Hall, who resided in the State from 1820 to 1833, and there conducted the "Illinois Magazine," devoting much time and pains to historical subjects. To him, also, the people of the Ohio Valley owe gratitude for general labors in the field of local history, and especially for his delightful volume, "The Romance of Western History."

An exceedingly important and useful digest of events, covering the whole ground of Ohio Valley history, is James H. Perkins's "Annals of the West," first issued in 1846; revised in 1850 by Rev. T. M. Peck, and re-revised by James R. Albach in 1852, and again in 1857. From this well-ordered storehouse of valuable information, many compilers and historians have borrowed, and many more will borrow.

W. H. Venable.

PIONEER DAYS IN CENTRAL OHIO.[1]

It is pleasant, my friends, to realize the sentiment that, not only peace has its triumphs as well as war, but that domestic and home life hath its excitements and enjoyments as well as the political arena.

In this day of public strife—in the middle of a campaign in which the embattling squadrons of the several political parties of the day are arrayed against each other in the contest for civil power—we rest on our arms, and come together as under a flag of truce; nay, more, forgetting all differences or grounds for hostility, we meet as friends and neighbors, irrespective of all divisions on public questions, to interchange kindly civilities, for mutual congratulations on the joys and happiness with which God has blessed us in our present social relations of life, and to contrast the same with the character and conditions of our fathers, the early settlers and pioneers of this part of our beloved State.

In the few remarks I may submit it is my purpose, however I may sometimes wander from the straight path I have allotted to myself, to speak of the early settlements in Central Ohio, and of the character and life-incidents of the settlers. In speaking of them I do not propose to recount history, but rather to refer to times and events that in a long lifetime, relating back to the beginning of the present century have fallen under my own observation.

I came with my father's family to Licking county in 1809. We settled in Newark, then a small hamlet composed of a few straggling hewed log houses, or log cabins proper, chiefly on the east and north line of the public square of that now

[1] An address delivered at Mansfield, Ohio, September 15th, 1885, before the Richland County Historical and Pioneer Society. This address was the last delivered by Mr. Curtis (his death occurring a few weeks later), and is printed from the manuscript in the author's handwriting, now in the possession of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

beautiful city. There were but two frame structures then standing on the town site—one a lawyer's small office, the other a one and one-half story dwelling of the other lawyer of the village. A little to the north and south respectively of the centre of the public square stood two conspicuous hewed log edifices, simply enclosed, but otherwise unfinished and unfurnished, the one for a common jail, with an upstairs prison for debtors, the other dignified with the name of court house. In the latter, upon a rude platform on which sat the judges, and with rustic benches and improvised tables for the lawyers, the forensic debates of the bar were delivered and decisions of the four judges—Judge Wilson presiding—pronounced.

At the period to which I refer there were probably two hundred inhabitants, the families of some seventy-five or eighty settlers, who had located on the plateau of this beautiful valley of rich lands at the junction of the three streams that here come together and make the Licking river. The county had been organized only the year preceding, and Newark, after a hard-fought battle with the settlement at Granville, had won the contest, and become the county seat.

A small settlement was gathered around Robertson's mills under the name of Wilmington, on the north branch of the Licking, where the town of Utica now stands. Thence to Mt. Vernon, in Knox county, was chiefly an unbroken forest, with here and there by the narrow wagon way a log cabin, and the beginning of a settlement. The same remarks would apply to the line of roadway at that period of time between Mt. Vernon and Mansfield, county seats respectively of Knox and Richland counties, then recently erected. Small indications of villages were seen at Fredericktown and Bellville, and in a few other places east of the main north and south line of road. On the lower waters of Owl creek and upper branches of the Mohican were beginnings of new homesteads by settlers that had drifted in from Western Pennsylvania and Virginia.

I wonder if many of those before me really had any proper idea of the manner in which these early settlements were be-

gun. Of course I recognize some men of advanced age in this audience, who, if they did not themselves participate in the labor of building the first log cabin and clearing their first field, may have lived so near that time as to recognize some of the features I will attempt to give. In the first place you must realize, if you can, that the work to be done was usually at the greatest disadvantage; and hence much more difficult than the same work, and in the same primitive style, could now be done. An ax, a saw, and an auger, and the hammer taken from the doubletree of his wagon, usually constituted all the mechanical tools with which the rude architect was to rear and construct the house that probably for the succeeding fifteen or twenty years must be the home for his family. There the later children will be born and reared, while the older ones are assisting the father to clear the farm and open fields from the heavy timber and underbrush of the surrounding forest. After a few days spent in an improvised shanty, or perhaps the interior of the covered wagon, the pioneer sets himself seriously to work in the construction of his log cabin. Having selected his spot, the tall, straight young trees of the forest are to be felled, measured, cut, and hauled to the place; at the same time properly distributed to form the several prospective sides of the proposed structure. The "skids" are provided upon which to run up the logs. The clapboards, rived from the cleanest white oak blocks, rough and unshaved, are made ready for the roof. Whiskey, then about twenty-five cents per gallon, is laid in, and due notice given to such neighbors as can be reached, of the day appointed for the "raising."

When the time comes, and the forces collect together, a captain is appointed, and the men divided into proper sections, and assigned to their several duties. Four men most skillful in the use of the axe, are severally assigned to each corner; these are the "corner men," whose duty it is to "notch" and "saddle"—as it were, like a dovetail—the timbers at their connection, and preserve the plumb, "carrying up" the respective corners. Then there are the "end men," who, with strong arms, and the aid of pikes, force the

logs up the "skids" and deliver them to the corner men. In this way the building rises with wonderful rapidity; the bearers for the roof logs are adjusted; the broad clapboards laid with skill, the "weight-poles" placed upon the successive courses, and the shell of the cabin is completed. The frolic is ended and a good supper crowns the day's work. Then follow the "puncheon" floor, made of heavy planks split from timber and dressed on one side with an axe; the big log fire place; the beaten clay hearth; the stick and clay chimney; the "clinking" and "daubing;" the paper windows, and the door with wooden latch and hinges. And so the log cabin home is made ready, and the family moves in with as much joy and delight as may fill their hearts when, twenty years later, they enter their now stately frame or brick mansion erected on the same spot.

The above is the primitive log cabin; but it was subject to many modifications and degrees of advanced pretensions. The cabin might be single, or double, with a gangway between, covered by a common roof. It was made of hewed logs, or "scutched," which was a superficial hewing made after the building was up. So, too, its elevation was suited to the condition of the family; and sometimes the corners squared or dressed down; and perchance the clapboards nailed on, when so luxurious an article as nails could be obtained, in lieu of the "weight poles."

These were various forms of the residences of the pioneers. They were all log cabins, but the primitive form first described predominated; the improved form indicating the ambition, prosperity and taste of the proprietor and his family. Such was the beginning of settlements in all this range of beautiful country, embracing the central counties of Licking, Knox and Richland, and others adjacent, through which a gentleman may now drive with his carriage and pair as through a park. The stately mansions and their surroundings often presenting the appearance of a villa; and the extended fields and groves forming a succession of landscape most pleasing to the eye, and giving assurance of the wealth, comfort and happiness of our people, and of the wonderful

rapidity with which our country has progressed during the last half century, along the road of prosperity.

In this connection I might extend my reminiscences to embrace many interesting events in the early settlement of this part of Ohio, the history of which is fast becoming mere tradition. But a proper regard to the limit of time I may have your attention, admits my mentioning a few only.

It was but natural that the amusements of the period often assumed features corresponding with the character of their employments. Hence the "chopping" and "log-rolling" frolics, the "corn-husking bees" and the "raisings" would bring together the neighbors of a five-mile settlement, assembling with the social feelings that would lighten their labor, and make the occasion one of joy and recreation. Nor were these hilarious gatherings confined to the men; for the good wives and daughters, entering into the spirit of the time, would appoint some branches of their own industry—their sewing or quilting—to enter into the frolic; and at the end of the day, alike laying their labors aside, all would join in doing justice to a chicken pot-pie, the making of which, since the era of cooking stoves, has become a lost art to the present generation. Then the evening would wind up—perhaps with games and plays—or, if the fiddler could be obtained, with a lively dance upon the green lawn, or the "puncheon" floor.

The war of 1812, occurring as it did in the pioneer day of Ohio, the proximity of the settlers to the Indian villages and the Canada border brought them in direct connection with many of its painful events, and added greatly to their sufferings and privations. There was an Indian village on the upper waters of the Raccoon branch of the Licking, near where the village of Johnstown now stands; another, called Greentown, near Perrysville, in this county; and then the Wyandottes at Upper Sandusky. Although these several Indian *Pueblos* professed to be friendly, yet their friendship was unreliable; many young braves of the tribes, as well from their natural hate towards the whites, as also from

British bribes and influence, were covertly hostile; and these villages gave shelter and harbor to emissaries from other tribes openly hostile. Indians that had been peaceful in our villages, as traders with their cranberries, pelts, and moccasin-work, became a terror to the settlers; and the massacre of the Copus family in this county, and the Snows in Huron, and other depredations, added to the alarm.

There was a block-house at Fredericktown, another at Bellville; also one at this village [Mansfield], and at other exposed places. And often on signal of danger, all the inhabitants of a village or settlement would gather in these places of security for protection of their wives and children, against apprehended night attacks of the savages. These alarms were often without just cause—sometimes perpetrated as practical jokes. The surrender of our first army at Detroit by General Hull, followed later by the siege of Fort Meigs, and the bloody battle of the River Raisin, increased the general alarm of the frontier settlements and added to the demand for vigilance on the part of the settlers.

The return of peace was hailed with joy, and the little eight-by-ten windows of the cabins, as well as of the more pretentious dwellings that had grown up in our villages, blazed with added lights, and music and rejoicing filled our streets and our dwellings.

I will now pass to some remarks I desire to make on the *character* of the pioneers and early settlers of this part of Ohio. And let me here premise, that I entirely disagree with a popular writer of the day[1] who has attempted to illustrate the proposition "that our manners and customs go for more in life than actual quality." On the contrary, do we not know that the former is but the superficial covering in which the true man may be clothed; produced by factitious circumstances, and conformed to surrounding influences? While the "quality" of the man makes his true character, to estimate which you must study his inner principles; his habit of thought; his clear perceptions between right and

[1] Howells.

wrong; his spirit of enterprise; the greatness and strength of his power of conception and resolution of purpose. These are qualities that contribute true character—character that is not the less great because found in the humble and unrefined "manners and customs" of our noble sires—once called the backwoodsmen of Ohio.

It is not the inert, the irresolute or stupid who strike out in life in great changes of pursuits, or risks in business. It is the men of thought, of enterprise, of resolution. Such traits of character were necessary to bring the young man of strong purpose, or the head of a family, to break up the old associations of life, and dare the hardships and privations of a new settlement in the wild woods of the West. Who does not see in a Boone, a Kenton, a Symmes, or a Putnam, adventurers who first penetrated the Ohio Valley, men of strong minds and great character?

Of such qualities were the early pioneers of our noble State. They were the men of nerve, of intellect, and strength of purpose, that led the way over the Alleghenies to the borders of our beautiful streams and teeming valleys. Nor were they ignorant or uncultured in the rudiments of fair education. They had been brought up in a land of schools and churches, and where colleges and academies were known. And they brought with them their education and religion.

It is a great mistake, therefore, to suppose that our fathers were of less culture in the arts and sciences, and all the elements of civilization, than the succeeding generations. On the contrary, the natural character of the men, and the advantages they had received in earlier life, gave them an ascendancy to which the first generation that followed could not attain for the want of these accessories. So that it often happened, that the growing family of sons and daughters, in the absence of schools, were wholly, or largely, dependent upon their parents for such teaching and instruction, as other pressing labors would permit them to give. Hence, in contemplating the characters of our fathers, we must go back beyond the generation that succeeded, and remember the men in their individual and collective relations; in the great

qualities that fitted them to lay the foundations of government.

It would be interesting to individualize and illustrate the ideas which I have attempted to give, by bringing into review sketches of the lives and characters of the leading men who marked the way in these early settlements of which I have been speaking; and to whom this part of Ohio is so deeply indebted for its present prosperity. But the limits of a brief address cannot be enlarged into a volume—many of which might be written on this noble theme. But I will recall to your minds some recollections of the first courts of common pleas—always the great working court—that opened the administration of legal justice in these counties.

I do not know that this beautiful city, Mansfield, was ever adorned with a *whipping-post;* but I remember very well that interesting feature on the public square in Newark. It was a centre for our games, to us school boys, and afforded the test of agility in our trials to reach the great staple near the top. It was in 1812, I think, that a poor fellow of the name of John Courson was convicted of stealing some bags of flour from a mill, and perhaps some other articles. He was sentenced by Judge Wilson to receive fifty "stripes," well laid on (as the law then required),—five the next morning, fifteen at noon, and thirty the following day at noon. George Allis-ton was high sheriff and Andy Beard deputy. The flagellation was performed by the latter under the oversight of the chief. A circle of about sixty feet diameter was drawn and a cordon established that kept back the crowd that pressed to the line. The prisoner was brought out from the log jail and secured by his upraised hands to the big staple. The first blow of the "cowhide" simply left a welt. "A little harder," said the sheriff, and Andy marked the four succeeding blows in distinct red lines on the poor fellow's naked back. He received this first installment of his sentence without an audible groan; but when returned to the same position for the second, his utterances and screeches from the first stroke were heart-rending, and when returned to the prison, his audible lamentations and prayers for annihilation before another day were fearful and most painful to be

heard. Yet he stood the whole punishment, receiving the following day the heavy remainder of the infliction, and returned to his prison with his back lacerated and bleeding from his shoulders to his hips. It was a painful and disgusting sight, the first and last of the kind in Licking county.

William Wilson was the first presiding judge of the Court of Common Pleas for these central counties. He was appointed by the Legislature at one of its sessions in Chillicothe at the organization of the circuit in 1808. He was brought up on a farm near the "Dumbarton Hills," in New Hampshire, where he received a fair education with a partial classical course, and had wended his way to Ohio to grow up with the country. Although a young and briefless lawyer at the time, through the influence of some friends and with little or no competition, he obtained the appointment, and immediately removed to and made Newark his permanent place of residence until his death. He held his position on the bench for three terms—twenty-one years—when he was succeeded by Alexander Harper, then a leading lawyer of Zanesville. Judge Wilson was a man of marked and practical good, common sense, which supplemented his deficiencies in legal learning. The long period of his presidency furnished him with the rules of practice and increased his knowledge of the principles of the law and the leading decisions of the courts. But when subjected to the criticisms of such strong legal minds as the elder Stanbery (then the great lawyer of Licking county) and of the Shermans, the Ewings, the Grangers and others of other parts of the circuit, he often had a hard time to maintain his dignity on the bench, or to adhere to his own rulings. Withal, he was a man of strict integrity of purpose, of high moral character, and had the confidence and respect of the public.

In the reconstruction of the circuits, Ebenezer Lane, a distinguished lawyer of Norwalk, succeeded Judge Wilson in what had been the northern part of the latter's district. Judge Lane for the period of some seven years presided in the Common Pleas Courts of this (Richland) and other adjacent counties. He was afterward translated to the bench of

the Supreme Court. While by the bar of Ohio Judge Lane is best remembered and honored for his clear and lucid enunciations of the law in final decisions of the higher court, it is as judge of the Common Pleas that the local bar and the masses formed that intimate social and professional knowledge of the man that so endeared him to our hearts and makes his memory so grateful to all who had the honor and happiness of his friendship. He was a graduate of Harvard, and studied the law in Connecticut. From that State he came to Ohio, settling at Norwalk in 1819. He was the prosecuting attorney who framed the indictment and conducted the trial of the Indians who were convicted and subsequently hung at Norwalk in the latter part of that year for the murder and robbery of a white man in the western part of the State, then within the jurisdiction of Huron county. I was present at the trial as a youth and student, and well remember the clear and lucid statement of the case by the young prosecutor, in which his logical array of the facts, the inferences therefrom, and condensation of his argument, indicated the later character of the jurist. Genial in his friendships, taciturn but never reticent, ingenuous, kind and courteous in manner, he had not only the confidence of the bar, but their love and affection. And his retirement from the bench to accept the presidency of a railroad combination, by which, in a sense, he became lost to the bar of Ohio, was profoundly felt and regretted. After an extended tour through England and the continent in 1860-'61, he retired from public business. His death occurred in 1866.

In looking into the past, and my early professional associations in the Courts, the three several Clerks of the Courts of these counties, of the period referred to, arise before me.

Amos H. Caffee, for some fourteen years Clerk of the Common Pleas and Supreme Courts at Newark. How genial his kindly face as it now, to my mind's eye, appears before me. The accomplished scholar; the faithful friend; my many-years' preceptor, and the model and guide of my early youth. He came to Newark about the year 1811, and soon organized a select grammar school, at the head and in

control of which, he stood for many years. In his school the best young men of Newark of that day were trained for the active duties of life. From the master's chair he became Postmaster, and then Clerk of the Courts, as before mentioned. Mr. Caffee's first wife was a daughter of Mrs. Henderson, a highly respected widow, of good business capacities, and who for many years, as some of you may remember, kept an excellent Public in the old McComb House in this city. His faithful services in the Courts and his obliging manners towards all who had business in his office, should establish for him an honorable mention in the annals of old Licking.

James Smith, for three full terms, twenty-one years, clerk of the Courts of Knox county. Who of the survivors of that period who had business relations with the good old man fails to remember his gentle manners and kind old Virginia heart? Few of the public transactions in the early affairs of old Knox transpired without "Uncle Jimmy" being consulted or his advice and participation enjoyed. He was identified with every pnblic movement, and justly exercised a dominating influence in the affairs of public interest in the then village of Mount Vernon, and the county as well. Fond of a good joke, he would enjoy it, tho' he were himself the victim. His open-handed hospitality made his humble dwelling a welcome home to all comers. In the Court room the lawyers were his pets, for whom his services were ever cheerfully rendered. He was a preacher and writer in the denomination called "The Christian Church," (otherwise Newlights), and the chief organizer of that religious sect in the counties of Knox and Licking. Your speaker was an inmate in his family for several years, and acknowledges with gratitude the noble qualities of his patron and their happy influence upon his own character.

One of the first friendly acquaintances I made at the Mansfield bar, in the outset of my professional attendance at her Courts was with Elzey Hedges, the genial and obliging clerk of all the Courts in old Richland, not old *then* but, like the other counties I have mentioned, very young in organiza-

tion. Mr. Hedges was an early settler at Mansfield, but whether he came in with the first I am not prepared to state. In the early '20's he occupied a partially finished brick house at the N. E. corner of the public square. The clerk's office was kept in one of the front rooms; and there Elzey Hedges, with his genial face and kind smile, could always be found, if not engaged at his desk in the Court room. Though the appointments and conveniences of the office room were exceedingly primitive, yet so faithfully were the records kept, and the papers and files so carefully adjusted, that any document or journal entry could be promptly produced, at the most sudden call. Visiting lawyers from other counties always felt their obligations to Mr. Hedges for his careful attention to their business and the obliging manner in which he performed his duties.

In the remarks which I have submitted, while recurring to events of the olden times, and illustrating by brief notices of a few of the characteristic men of the period, I do not forget the hundred and one, so to speak, noble names of the fathers who laid the foundations of these now wealthy counties. Their names are honorably mentioned in the county annals, and will, I trust, be ever cherished by the successive thousands that are filling their places. But chiefly I have desired to impress upon the hearts and memories of my hearers the high character of these pioneer fathers of the State, for moral worth and noble aims. And that, however humble their mode of living—their distinguished virtues entitle them to our highest veneration, and to rank with the heroes who establish empires.

HENRY B. CURTIS.

A PIONEER AUTHOR TO A PIONEER EDITOR.

One of the most interesting books relating to pioneer days is John McDonald's "Sketches," a small volume of 267 pages, reprinted from a series of articles contributed to the Western Christian Advocate. The author was born in 1775, and died in Ross county, Ohio, in 1853. He passed through the rough, wild experience of frontier life;—was in turn boatman, hunter, surveyor, military officer, and state legislator. Colonel McDonald was a friend and associate of Simon Kenton, and was himself familiar with the exploits and dangers of Indian warfare.

Shortly after the "Sketches" came out in book form, the work was reviewed by William D. Gallagher in his magazine, The Hesperian. The gratified author returned his thanks to the editor in a characteristic letter, which Mr. Gallagher presented to me a few years ago, and which is here published for the first time. The epistle is without date, but must have been written in September, 1839, when the author was about sixty-four years old. The spelling, capitalization and punctuation of the original manuscript are reproduced in the printed copy.

[*John McDonald to William D. Gallagher.*]

Popler ridge, near Lattas, Ross county Ohio.

Dear Sir

A friend has recently placed in my hand the Hesperian. I have read through the two volumes; and I am much pleased with the plan and execution of your project. Your work is Geographical—Historical—Biographical—Political—Poetical—agricultural—Theological, and sprinkled over with fancy sketches of Romance. A reader must have a mudy intelect indeed, who cannot find in the Hesperian something to instruct, amuse, and please his fancy. I will be mistaken if your literary labor will not travil down the road of time with the immortal works of Plutarch.

I have written and caused to be published, in the Western Christian Advocate, sketches of the doings and character of four brothers of the name of Whetzel, who were distinguished

warriors in olden times. Lewis Whetzel had no equal for daring intrepidity, even among those pioneer sons of fame, in the west. The matter of those sketches, if written by some master hand, (to which accomplishment I make no pretension) would in my opinion be worthy of a place in any publication. The first of these sketches you will find in the Advocate of March 29th 1839. There are six numbers printed in weekly succession. Read them, and if you should think them worthy a place in the Hesperian, I will feel myself honored.

The notice you were pleased to give of my humble volume of sketches was read by me with lively satisfaction. You do me more than Justice. All I could reasonably hope for my manner of writting, was the indulgence to be thought free from obtrusion and censure. No other praise was expected than what truth merrited, depicted in coarse and homely language.

Like most of the early pioneers I have not learned the art of making money; and the state of my finances are so low, that I am hard run to procure subsistence and clothing, or I would forward money as a subscriber to your paper. If a man feels he has the disposition, and is master of the needful, what self complacency he feels when he does liberal, generous, charetable deeds—encourages Genius, feeds the hungry, clothes the naked—&. c, whilst the poor man with the same liberal sensitive disposition to relieve the wants of others, can only simpathize with distress and suffering, in silince, where none can know his kindly disposition but the all seeing eye, who will not Judge by appearances.

That your literary labors may be crowned with success and that you may long live to enjoy health, peace, and happiness is the wish of your humble servant

JOHN M'DONALD.

William D. Galager Esqr.

The letter is written in even and legible hand, on a single page of a large sheet of foolscap, now yellow and stained. It is addressed to "The Editor of the Hesperian, Cincinnatti, Ohio," and bears the postmaster's written mark "From Lattas, Ross. Co. O. 28 September, (Single)," and the inscription "paid 12½." Of course it is without an envelope, being folded in the old-fashioned manner, and sealed with a red wafer.

W. H. VENABLE.

PREGLACIAL MAN IN OHIO.

At the meeting of the Boston Society of Natural History[1] for November 4, 1885, Mr. Putnam showed an implement chipped from a pebble of black flint, found by Dr. C. L. Metz in gravel, eight feet below the surface, in Madisonville, Ohio. This rude implement is about the same size and shape of one, made of the same material, found by Dr. Abbott in the Trenton, N. J., gravel, and is of special interest as the first one known from the gravels of Ohio. This announcement, coupled with a letter from Dr. Metz, saying that he had since found another such implement at Loveland, led me, on the 11th and 12th of November, to visit the localities and see their relation to the glacial deposits of the region. The results I here detail.

Madisonville is situated eleven miles northeast of Cincinnati, in a singular depression connecting the Little Miami River with Mill Creek, about five miles back from the Ohio. The Little Miami joins the Ohio some miles above Cincinnati, while Mill Creek joins it just below the city. The general height of the hills in that vicinity above the river is from 400 to 500 feet. But the hills just north of Cincinnati are separated from the general elevation further back by the depression referred to, in which Madisonville is situated.

The depression is from one to two miles wide, and about five miles long, from one stream to the other, and is occupied by a deposit of gravel, sand, and loam, clearly enough belonging to the glacial-terrace epoch. The surface of this is generally level, and is about 200 feet above the low-water mark in the Ohio. On the east side, on the Little Miami River, at Red Bank, the gravel is rather coarse, ranging from one to three or four inches, interstratified with sand, and underlaid, near the river-level, with fine clay. There is here a thin covering of loess, or fine loam. On going westward this loess deposit increases in thickness, being at Madison-

[1] See Proc. Bost. Soc. Nat. Hist., Vol. XXIII., p. 242.

ville, one mile west, about eight feet thick. Farther west it s much deeper, and seems to take the place of the gravel entirely. At several railroad cuttings, compact glacial clay, technically called "till," with scratched stones, appears underneath all.

From this description it appears that this cross-valley connecting Mill Creek with the Little Miami back of Avondale, Walnut Hills, and the Observatory, was once much deeper than now, and has been filled in with the deposits made when immense glacial floods were pouring down these two streams from the north. The Little Miami was a very important line of glacial drainage, as is shown by the extensive gravel terraces all along its course. The railroads transport this gravel long distances. The coarser material was naturally deposited near the direct line of drainage, where the current was strong. Naturally, also, back from the river towards Madisonville there would be, as there is, an increase of the fine deposit, or loess, which is practically a still-water formation. So much for the true glacial character of the formation. There can be no doubt upon that point.

As to the implement, it is preserved in the Archæological Museum in Cambridge, Mass., where any one can examine it and compare it with similar ones from other parts of the world. It is pronounced by Professor Putnam and Dr. Metz to be of the true palaeolithic type. It is not smoothed, but simply a rudely chipped, pointed weapon, about three inches long. Dr. Metz found it two years ago, while digging a cistern. In making the excavation for this he penetrated the loess eight feet before reaching the gravel, and there, near the surface of the gravel, this implement was found. There is no chance for it to have been covered by any slide, for the plain is extensive and level topped, and there had evidently been no previous disturbance of the gravel.

Subsequently, in the spring of the present year (1887), Dr. Metz found another palæolith in an excavation in a similar deposit near Loveland, Ohio. Loveland is also on the Little Miami River, in the northeast corner of Hamilton

county. The river makes something of an elbow here, open to the west. This space is occupied by a gravel terrace about fifty feet above the stream. The terrace is composed in places of very coarse material, resembling very much that of Trenton, N. J., where Dr. Abbott has found similar implements. The excavation is about one-quarter of a mile back from the river, near the residence of Judge Johnson. The section shows much coarser material near the surface than at the bottom. The material is largely of the limestones of the region, with perhaps ten per cent. of granitic pebbles. The limestone pebbles are partially rounded, but are largely oblong. Some of them are from one to three feet in length. These abound for the upper twenty feet of the section on the east side toward the river. One granitic boulder was about two feet in diameter. On the west side of the cut, away from the river, mastodon bones were found, a year ago, in a deposit of sand underlying the coarser gravel and pebbles. It was here, about thirty feet below the surface, that Dr. Metz found the palæolithic implement last spring. It was an oblong stone about six inches long, four and a half inches wide, which had been here chipped all around to an edge, and is, in his opinion, unquestionably of human manufacture.

By those familiar with the subject, these will at once be recognized as among the most important archæological discoveries yet made in America, ranking on a par with those of Dr. Abbott, at Trenton, N. J. They show that in Ohio, as well as on the Atlantic coast, man was an inhabitant before the close of the glacial period. We can henceforth speak with confidence of preglacial man in Ohio. Other observers in the State should be stimulated by this discovery. It is facts like these which give archæological significance to the present fruitful inquiries concerning the date of the glacial epoch in North America. When the age of the Mound Builders of Ohio is reckoned by centuries, that of the preglacial man who chipped these palæolithic implements must be reckoned by thousands of years.

G. Frederick Wright.

FORT HILL, OHIO.

Fort Hill is situated in the southeastern corner of Highland county, Ohio, one and a half miles west of Pike county line, and three miles north of the village of Sinking Springs. The base of the hill is bounded on the north and west by the East Fork of Ohio Brush Creek. Its elevation is about five hundred feet above the bed of the stream and thirteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. The base of the hill rests upon one hundred and fifty feet of Niagara limestone, followed by two hundred and fifty feet of Huron shale and capped with about one hundred feet of Waverly shales and sandstone.

The leading point of interest, and the source from which the hill derives its name, is the ancient artificial wall of earthwork which completely encloses the level plateau on its summit. This was evidently constructed by an excavation of earth and stones around the brink of the hill thus raising a wall, which, at the present time, has a base averaging twenty-five feet and a height averaging from six to ten feet.

Its entire length is 8,582 feet. It contains 50,856 cubic yards of material. At the present day, with our modern methods of construction, it would cost not less than twenty thousand dollars.

The area enclosed is thirty-five acres. The gateways or entrances are thirty-three in number and are spaces from ten to fifteen feet in width, arranged without apparent order or regularity except that an average number is found on either side, — the eastern half containing the same number as the western. The same may be said as to the northern and southern divisions.

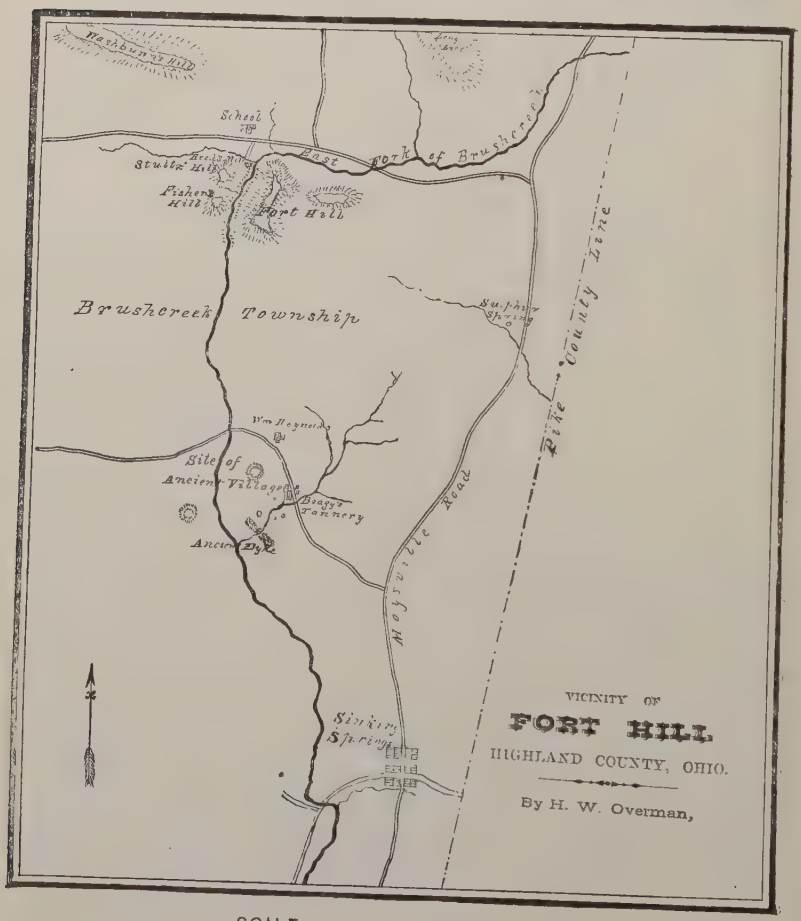
The space enclosed is level and is almost entirely covered with forest, which extends in all directions to the base of the hill. There are two small ponds, known locally as "Bear Wallows," one located near the northern extremity, the other in the north-central part of the Fort. In winter and during rainy weather these ponds contain water, and could be made

to hold and retain almost any desired quantity. The entire circumference of the wall for at least one hundred feet from the summit is very steep and precipitous, so that the inmates would certainly be able to repel a much superior force from the outside.

SCALE—80 Poles to the Inch

The query naturally arises as to where the inhabitants had their permanent residence. A partial answer at least may be made to this question from an examination of the evidences of the former existence of a considerable village or settlement about one mile south of the summit of the hill. At

this point the ground is somewhat undulating and intersected by numerous ravines, from which issue springs of the purest and coldest water. Here may be seen, a short distance southwest of the residence of William Reynolds, Esq., in a culti-



SCALE—350 Poles to the Inch.

vated field, about thirty rods east of the creek, a circular earthwork of about three hundred feet in diameter. This field has been under cultivation a number of years, yet the outlines of the work are still plainly visible.

Another work of like size and character is situated on the west side of the creek, and at an equal distance from it. About a half mile south of the first-named circular work is another work similar in character but much smaller, being but fifty feet in diameter. There are also in this latter vicinity many other evidences of various kinds, such as mounds, etc. Numerous implements of stone and of flint have been discovered from time to time, and deposits of mica, as well as specimens of galena, whether native or not, are frequently met with.

A short distance below Bragg's Tannery, on a small stream which is fed by a number of fine springs, there seems to have been a dyke thrown across the stream, which would form a lake of considerable extent in the basin-shaped valley. We may reasonably conjecture that the great Fort on the hill was constructed as a place of refuge and protection in case of invasion.

The vicinity of Fort Hill is by no means void of natural scenery. The channel of Brush creek has cut its way through an immense gorge of Niagara limestone for a distance of two or three miles, forming numerous cliffs and caverns. On the west side of this gorge, at the foot of Fisher's hill, is a cave, once occupied by David Davis, an ingenious and eccentric hermit, who made the cavern his home for a number of years from about 1847. He discovered a vein of ore near his abode from which he manufactured in limited quantities a valuable and durable metallic paint, of a color approaching a rose tint, and of metallic luster, which gained considerable local reputation. The ore, however, so far as yet discovered, is not in paying quantities. His cave and surrounding scenery, situated as it is in one of the most romantic regions of Southern Ohio, is well worthy of inspection.

This gorge, in the opinion of the writer, is of post glacial origin, an idea probably announced for the first time. The entire drainage of the country north of Fort Hill once had its outlet into Paint creek, ten or twelve miles northeast of here at a point a short distance above Bainbridge, in Ross county. This outlet has been completely blocked up and

filled to a sufficient height to force the water in the direction it now assumes. The filling of this old valley at its outlet into Paint creek was caused by the vast accumulation of glacial deposits brought in by the ice.

As this is a question for the geologist, there is no need of further discussion in this article.

H. W. OVERMAN.

ANCIENT WORK NEAR OXFORD, OHIO.

In the first volume of Smithsonian "Contributions to Knowledge," Mr. McBride gives a cut and description of this work.[1] But both plat and description vary so widely from the facts, that it seems desirable to bring the case up again. Mr. MacLean in his "Mound Builders," reproduces the figure and copies the chief points of the general statement. They differ as to the locality, McBride being entirely right, but McLean putting it in the wrong township. The work lies wholly in lot 6, section 31, township 5, range 2, east of the Miami Meridian.[2]

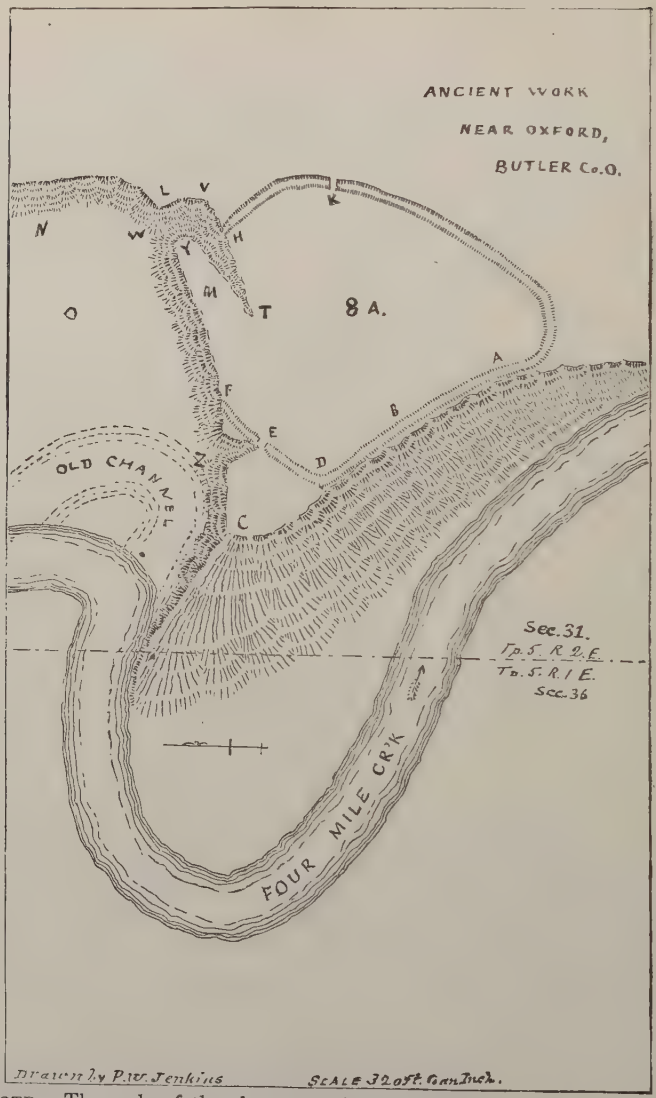
The Smithsonian plat (Plate XI., No. 2) gives the area enclosed as "25 acres;" the text says "20 acres." Mr. MacLean copies the text. A careful survey, made under my personal supervision, by Christian Pann, H. L. Kramer, and P. W. Jenkins, of the Engineers' Class, gives *eight* acres.

An inspection of the cut in the Smithsonian publication or in the "Mound Builders" shows that *no survey had been made*, and only the wildest kind of guesswork could have produced a plat so far out of the way in respect to size, shape, and position. For a full understanding of this description, it will be necessary to use the plate given herewith.

Mr. McBride says the bluff is 60 feet high. A careful application of the level and rod shows that the point marked C is 95 feet above the level of the creek near by; and the point B, 90 feet. At N the old channel of the creek was closed by glacial drift many thousand years ago. Immediately beyond this obstruction, to the eastward, is the buried

[1] Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, pp. 29–30.

[2] In the technical description of land in this corner of the State the word *north* must not be used. In the location of the mounds of Butler county, as given in the first number of the QUARTERLY this mistake of using N. (north) occurs *nine* times; and the mounds as thus described lie in Paulding and Defiance counties—not in Butler at all. The work described in this article is on the Miami University lands, and all these lands have the sections divided into *six lots*—not into quarters, as elsewhere.



NOTE.—The scale of the above map in the original drawing was 320 feet to the inch. In making the plate the map was, by error, reduced in size, giving an actual scale of about 500 feet to the inch.

forest, mentioned in the Ohio Geological Survey. The creek was forced to turn abruptly back, and it has cut for itself a channel over two miles in circuit; whereas, the direct dis-

tance across is about three-fourths of a mile. Of course, at first, the creek kept close to the bank from W all the way to the township line as marked in the plat. It is possible, but not probable, that the stream so ran in the time of the Mound Builders. But it has not so run for many hundred years.

When settlers moved into this vicinity eighty years ago, the valley at O was covered by a heavy forest, chiefly sugar-tree. This fact I have from Mr. Wallace, who lives but a few hundred yards away, and speaks from personal knowledge, having lived there since 1818. But in the early part of this century, even so late as 1840, the stream flowed in that part marked "old channel," the farthest point being distant from the present channel about 300 feet.

This valley between the glacial dam and the creek, is 50 rods in length from east to west, and of a width nearly equal. The steep declivity from W to the old channel is covered with trees rather sparsely; and so is all the land between the creek and the brow of the hill. The terrace mentioned by Mr. McBride is nothing but landslides, caused by the steep bank and the water in it. The slides extend irregularly for more than half the surface of the slope. But the upper 15 or 20 feet is steep and without slides, and along this space there is no sign of any defensive work.

Mr. McBride describes the work as reaching only from H to A, about 1,000 feet, with one gateway at K, nearly 300 feet from H. Before the ground was cultivated the wall was six or seven feet high, and was so steep that the boys of the time amused themselves by sliding down the steep slopes, as related by the aged Mr. Wallace. The same authority says that in 1818 the enclosure was still in the state of nature; and that the trees within were more stunted than those beyond the wall; and nearly every tree was a support to the wild grapevine.

The wall has been plowed down until it is now scarcely distinguishable from the general level of the fields, except by the ranker growth of corn and weeds along the course of the ditch on the exterior side of the wall.

Twelve or fourteen years ago, in an ancient work near Columbus, O., some pieces of wood were found having unmistakable marks of being the lower end of pickets set in the ground. One piece was placed in the Museum of the State University. This seems to prove that in one case the Mound Builders used pickets in their line of defence, as was also done by the early settlers of the West, in their struggle with the Indians. From what follows, it may not unreasonably be inferred that the Mound Builders were accustomed to have such a line of pickets as an essential part of the enclosure's defense; and if such should be found to be generally true, then the earth was used chiefly as a means of holding the pickets in place. This may prove to be a new feature. But see what follows.

In the examination of the work there were present, besides surveyors, Prof. James, of the Chair of Geology in Miami University, and Mr. Nelson Perry, of Cincinnati, an experienced geologist and mining engineer, and others. A plowman, who had often plowed the field, said he wished some one would explain to him why there was a black band of earth along the middle of the wall,—that when the field is fresh plowed the eye can easily trace out the center of the wall by this streak of dark earth. Acting on this hint we caused six or eight trenches to be cut directly across the wall, down to the general level of the earth; and, at intervals, for five hundred feet, or about half the length of the main wall. Looking into these cross-sections the most careless eye could not fail to detect immediately the position of the dark band. This was about one foot wide and was filled with earth of a darker hue. The spade cut through small pebbles of limestone which had been *changed to lime*, and thus the part of the cross section occupied by this band was speckled with white spots. We found also small pieces of charcoal too deep down to have been put there by accident.

How shall these facts be interpreted? Let the following be suggested until a better shall be found. Suppose that the mound builders set up a row of pickets sixteen or eighteen feet long, and piled earth on both sides to the height

of seven or eight feet, so the pickets would be rendered firm in their upright position. In the destruction of the works fire played its part, the pickets being burned to or near to their base. The cavity so left would subsequently be filled with leaves; rain and frost would tend to fill up the space formerly occupied by the pickets; the burning timber would burn the limestone pebbles into lime, and at points near the base coals would be left. The decay of the leaves would make the dark colored earth; the calcined pebbles would produce the speckled appearance, and the dark central streak is fully accounted for. It is not necessary to dwell on the points further. The facts have been given; an explanation is suggested; let the matter be considered by those so inclined, and who also have a sufficient acquaintance with the subject to make their opinion valuable.

According to all accounts thus far published the wall extended from H to A, and there terminated. But all along the brow of the hill from A to D, and thence across the corner to F, there is a band of yellow earth, such as is found at the depth of a foot or fifteen inches in all this region. At E there is a break in the yellow land, precisely as at K. Both K and E are gateways through the wall. The streak of yellow clay along the brow of the hill might be considered merely the outcrop of the layer, but for that part of it from D to F. The ground itself shows that from D to F there is no outcrop, but the band is due to excavation, in the same way as trenches are cut in a field for the purpose of receiving tile, and which, after the filling, can easily be traced by the subsoil that has been exposed and thrown up.

If this is the proper explanation, then there was also a row of pickets of less height and of smaller retaining embankments, all the way from A to F, and possibly along the entire circuit of the enclosure; although from F to H no indications of any can be found.

Then the additional inquiry is started whether or not this use of pickets was general among the mound builders.

The tongue M Y is 290 feet long to the point where the descent to the ravine begins. From T to H is 264 feet; and

to V is about 100 feet further. The gateway at K was of course the place of ordinary exit: that at E opens directly into the head of the ravine, and seemed to have served as a passway to the water at Z. Within the enclosure there is no depression which could be used as a catchbasin for water. Both ravines seem to me to be artificial, and to have been made for the purpose of water supply. That beginning at E, is one hundred feet long, and nearly a hundred wide at the mouth. The water drains into it from the distance of twenty or thirty feet only. The whole ravine is filled with a dense grove of small trees. Now if there had been a line of pickets from D to the front of the steep bank at C, the water could easily be reached without danger from a side attack.

If the long ravine starting at T, on ground very near level, has been washed out since the destruction of the fort, then there should be the remains of the wall across the point Y. There is no mark of a wall on that point. From T to V is about 370 or 380 feet, the *gully pointing up stream*, then turning almost at right angles with V and recurving at L slightly in the down-stream direction. At the level of about twenty feet below H and Y, there is a bench or terrace *very nearly level*, and extending for more than a hundred feet. In the course of time the drainage water has cut out the central part of this level space. These reasons point to an artificial origin. The *embouchure* at L is narrower than the ravine fifty feet further back. The whole face of the bank from W to Z is full of water to this day. Now, suppose the ravine to have been excavated, and a dam thrown across at L. Suppose, also, that back of the dam at Y the spongy ground is tapped for water; then the space back of the dam for nearly two hundred feet will be a reservoir of water *with a level bottom;* and, if there were a line of pickets from L to H, then this abundant supply of water was perfectly safe from all dangerous intrusion by an enemy.

The bottom land O was probably a cornfield when the fortification was inhabited. It is certain that all the trees of our forests have grown since the disappearance of the Mound Builders. When I last visited Fort Ancient, a number of

years since, a tall poplar tree, not less than five feet in diameter, was standing directly on top of the wall where it was twenty feet high, and the most careful examination showed that the forest trees without, within, or on the wall were of one age and growth.

A few years ago three skeletons were plowed up in the wall twenty or thirty feet from H. The bodies seem to have been laid on the ground and the wall built over them. One jaw was said to be wide enough to slip over the face of a man of broad countenance, indicating one giant "in those days."

At the same point in our examination a few weeks ago we picked up six or seven pieces of skull, one tooth, part of a rib, and a miscellaneous lot of pieces which were no longer of any use to the owner.

Although I have lived near this fort most of the time for more than thirty years, and have often been within it, the loose description in the books and the erroneous statements about it induced me lately to make a pretty thorough examination. The chief points only are set forth in this narrative.

Oxford, O., Nov. 15, 1887. R. W. McFarland.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE EARTHWORKS OF OHIO.

PREPARED BY MRS. CYRUS THOMAS FOR THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.

[*Continued from page 200.*]

ANY observers in the State who have facts concerning the earthworks of Ohio, in addition to those here stated, will confer a favor upon the world by forwarding such information to Professor G. F. Wright, Oberlin, O., the member of the Editorial Committee in charge of this department, by whom the facts will be classified and published in a future number, making the QUARTERLY by far the completest depository of such information.

In locating ancient remains it is desirable to note the following points:

The character of the works—whether mounds, stone graves, burial places, enclosures, walls, caches, etc.

Whether explored or not, and if explored whether relics were found, the kind of relics, and where such relics have been deposited, if known.

The exact locality, as near as can be determined, in township and county, and whether near a town or stream of any note.

Whether any notice or description has been published, and in what book, paper or magazine such notice may be found.

In all cases where antiquities have existed, but are now obliterated, they should be included in the list and mention made of their having been destroyed.

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Nest of flint implements, found two miles west of Centerville. Described by S. H. Binkley, Am. Antiq., Vol. III., (1881), p. 144.

Earthworks on the east bank of the Great Miami River, three miles below Dayton. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 23–24, Pl. viii., No. 4.

Small stone mound near Alexandersville. Opened, described, and contents noted at length by S. H. Binkley, Am. Antiq., Vol. III., (1881), pp. 325–328. Young Mineralogist and Antiquarian, April, 1885, pp. 79–80.

Enclosure, partly of stone, on the bluff, two miles south of Dayton. Described by S. H. Binkley, Am. Antiq., Vol. VII., (1885), p. 295. (Possibly the same as mentioned in Anc. Mon., pp. 23–24.)

Group of ancient works consisting of square, circles, and mounds, near Alexandersville and six miles below Dayton. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 82–83, Pl. xxix., No. 1. S. H. Binkley, Am. Antiq., Vol. III., (1881), pp. 192–193 and 325–328. Young Mineralogist and Antiquarian, April, 1885, pp. 79–80.

The great mound at Miamisburg. Western Gazetteer (1847?), p. 295. Howe's Hist. Coll. Ohio, (1847), p. 375. Anc. Mon., (1848), p. 5, fig. 1. Ohio Centen. Rep., (1877), Pl. ii. MacLean's "Mound Builders," (1879), pp. 59–60, fig. 1.

Ancient manufacturing village on the farm of M. T. Dodds, Esq., near West Carrollton. Described by S. H. Binkley, Am. Antiq., Vol. I., (1879), pp. 256–258.

Aboriginal cemetery on the bank of the Miami River, close to Dayton. Full description of the explorations by Aug. A. Foerste, Sm. Rep., 1883, pp. 838–844. Also noticed by S. H. Binkley, Am. Antiq., Vol. VII., (1885), pp. 295–296.

MUSKINGUM COUNTY.

Mound in Brush Creek township containing stone slab and skeleton. Reported by J. F. Everhart, Sm. Rep., 1880, p. 444. Am. Antiq., Vol. III., (1880), p. 61.

Mound on the farm of J. M. Boughman in Brush Creek township. (Probably same as preceding.) Explored and

described by L. A. Boughman, Zanesville (Ohio) *Courier*, April 8, 1886.

Mounds, triangles, enclosures, etc., near Zanesville, some of which were explored. Described by Thomas Ashe, "Travels," (1808), pp. 145–148.

PERRY COUNTY.

Four mounds in the vicinity of New Lexington. Opened and contents noted.

Flint diggings near New Lexington. Brief notices by Prof. E. B. Andrews, Rep. Peab. Mus., Vol. II., pp. 54–55.

Large mound about thirty feet high on the top of a hill one mile northeast of Glenford.

Smaller mound in the same field; opened; seven skeletons found, all with feet toward the center.

Small "signal" mound, half mile west of the large mound, overlooking the valley. Reported by Gerard Fowke.

Enclosure of stone surrounding a stone mound five miles north of Somerset.

Earthen enclosure formerly near the above. Drake's Indians of N. A., (15th Ed.), p. 60. Prof. E. B. Andrews, Rep. Peab. Mus., Vol. II., pp. 54–55. Described and figured by Atwater, Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., (1820), pp. 131–133, Pl. iii. Mentioned in Anc. Mon. p. 13; also in Warden's Recherch., p. 21, Pl. i., Pt. 2, fig. 2.

Early mentions of ancient works in this county without specifying exact localities: By an anonymous writer, Am. Jour. Sci. and Art, 1st Ser., Vol. XXV., (1834), pp. 234–235. "A Town with a Stone Mound," Rafinesque's Cat. Annals Ky., p. 36. "Mounds and Specimens," W. Anderson, Sm. Rep., 1874, p. 386.

PICKAWAY COUNTY.

Stone mound on a branch of Hargas Creek, a few miles northwest of Circleville. Noticed by Caleb Atwater, Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., p. 184.

Ancient works at Circleville (enclosures, walls, mounds, etc.). Described and figured by Atwater, Trans. Am.

Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., (1820), pp. 141–145, and 177–179, Pl. v. Anon. writer, Am. Jour. Sci. and Art, 1st Ser., Vol. XXV., (1834), pp. 238–240. Western Gazetteer, p. 298. Howe's Hist. Coll. Ohio, (1847), pp. 402–403, and 410–411. Anc. Mon., p. 60, Fig. 10. Warden's Recherch., p. 23. Drake's Indians of N. A., (15th Ed.), p. 59. Am. Antiq., Vol. V., (1883), p. 234.

"The Cross," a mound in the form of a Greek cross, near Tarleton, in the valley of Salt Creek, in the southeast corner of the county. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., p. 98, Pl. xxxvi., No. 1.

Earthworks, comprising three lines of embankments with corresponding interior ditches, near the north line of the county on the right bank of the Scioto River. Brief notice and figure, Anc. Mon., p. 36, Pl. xiv., No. 1.

PIKE COUNTY.

Ancient earthworks in Seal township. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 66–67, Pl. xxiv.

Ancient works at Piketon, consisting of parallel walls, graded way and mounds. Described and figured, Atwater, Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., (1820), pp. 193–194. Howe's Hist. Coll. Ohio, (1847), p. 413. Anc. Mon., pp. 88–90, Pl. xxxi., No. 1, and pp. 170–171, Fig. 57, No. 3. MacLean's "Mound Builders," pp. 37–38, Fig, 4.

PORTAGE COUNTY.

Stone mound three-quarters of a mile west of Hiram. Examined and described by S. N. Luther, Sm. Rep., 1881, p. 593.

PREBLE COUNTY.

Ancient burying-ground near Lewisburg, on Seven Mile Creek. Am. Antiq., Vol. I., (1879), p. 186.

Ancient embankment and interior wall of boulders, six miles southeast of Eaton. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., p. 33, Pl. xii., No. 2.

RICHLAND COUNTY.

Fortification near Mansfield. Reported by E. Wilkinson, Jr., Sm. Rep., 1879, p. 440.

ROSS COUNTY.

"Dunlap Works" (enclosure and mounds) on the right bank of the Scioto, six miles above Chillicothe. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 63–64, Pl. xxiii., No. 1. See also "*A*," Pl. ii.

"High-bank works," on the right bank of the Scioto, five miles below Chillicothe. Full description and plat, Anc. Mon., pp. 50–51, Pl. xvi., and "*I*," Pl. ii.

Ancient enclosure on the right bank of the Scioto river, about one mile south of Chillicothe. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., p. 59, Pl. xxi., No. 3. See also "*H*," Pl. ii.

"Blackwater group," on the right bank of the Scioto river, eight miles above Chillicothe. Described briefly and figured in Anc. Mon., p. 63, Pl. xxii., No. 2.

Mound on the third bottom or terrace of the Scioto river, six miles below Chillicothe. Explored by Squier and Davis; described and figured by E. G. Squier, Amer. Journal Sci. and Art, 2d Ser., Vol. III., (1847), pp. 243–245.

"Clark's Work," on the North Fork of Paint Creek, five miles from Chillicothe. Described and figured by Caleb Atwater, Trans. Am. Antiq. Soc., pp. 182–183, Pl. vi. Also described and more correctly figured in Anc. Mon., pp. 26–29, Pl. x., and Fig. 27.

"Mound City," a square enclosure with rounded corners, enclosing several mounds, (the works from which Squier and Davis obtained most of their celebrated collection). Other works in the vicinity. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., pp. 54–55, Pl. xix., and "*E*" and "*F*," Fig. 2. For description and figures of articles obtained, see Chaps. x–xvi. E. G. Squier, Amer. Jour. Sci. and Arts, 2d Ser., Vol. III., (1847), pp. 239–242. J. P. MacLean, "Mound Builders," pp. 48–49.

Mound in Mound City, containing a so-called "altar."

Explored by Squier and Davis. Described and figured by E. G. Squier, Amer. Jour. Sci. and Arts, 2d Ser., Vol. III., (1847), pp. 239–242.

Ancient works in Liberty township, eight miles southeast of Chillicothe, on Paint Creek. Described and figured by Caleb Atwater, Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., pp. 146–148, Pl. vii. Anc. Mon., p. 56–57, Pl. xx., and "*K*," Pl. ii. Several mounds in the same locality. Described and figured also by E. G. Squier, Amer. Jour. Sci. and Arts, 2d Ser., Vol. III., (1847), pp. 243–245.

Enclosures (circle and square) and mounds, on the left bank of the North Fork of Paint Creek, at Frankfort, better known as "Old Town," or Old Chillicothe. Described and figured, Anc. Mon. pp. 60–61, Pl. xxi., No. 4.

Earthworks (enclosure and mounds) on Paint Creek, opposite Bourneville. Described and figured by Caleb Atwater, Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., (1820), p. 146, Pl. vii. Anc. Mon., pp. 58–59, Pl. xxi., No. 2. Western Gazetteer, p. 303. Drake's "Indians of N. A." (15th ed.), p. 58. See also Warden's Recherch., pp. 23–24, for descriptions and figures of these and other works on Paint Creek.

Enclosure near Bourneville on the north side of Paint Creek. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., p. 86, Pl. xxx., No. 3, and "*D*," Pl. iii., No. 4.

Group of small works occupying the high lands on the east side of the Scioto opposite Chillicothe, consisting of a series of small circles. Mentioned and figured in Anc. Mon., p. 92, Pl. xxxii., No. 3, and at "*L*," Pl. ii.

"Cedar Bank Works," on the east side of the Scioto River, five miles above Chillicothe. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., pp. 53–54. Pl. xviii., and "*B*," Pl. ii.

"Hopeton Works," on the east bank of the Scioto, four miles north of Chillicothe. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., pp. 51–52, Pl. xvii.

Stone mound near Chillicothe. Noticed by Atwater, Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., p. 184.

Mounds, circles and stone mound at Chillicothe. Thomas Ashe, "Travels," (ed. 1808), pp. 181–182. Williamson's Observations on Climate of Amer., p. 190, (Appendix D.). Atwater, Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., (1820), pp. 181–182 and 184. Western Gazetteer, p. 303. Drake's Indians of N. A., (15th ed.), p. 58. Anc. Mon., p. 92, Pl. xxxii., No. 4.

Group of burial mounds on the plain in the immediate vicinity of Chillicothe. Plan and description, Anc. Mon., pp. 170–171, Fig. 57, No. 2.

Singular earthworks (circles and lines) in the valley of Paint Creek, one mile west of Bainbridge, on the turnpike leading from Chillicothe to Cincinnati. Mentioned and figured in Anc. Mon., pp. 92–93, Pl. xxxii., No. 5.

Mound at Adelphi. Examined. Noticed in "Herald," Big Rapids, Michigan, Aug. 7, 1885. Explored, described and figured by James D. Middleton.

Stone enclosure of 140 acres on top of a hill one mile southeast of Bourneville. Described and figured by Atwater, Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., pp. 148–150. Western Gazetteer p. 303. Anc. Mon., pp. 11–14, Pl. iv., and p. 4, Pl. iii., (*C*), No. 1. Drake's Inds. N. A., (15th Ed.), p. 58.

Another singular stone work near the above, described and figured in Anc. Mon., p. 86, Pl. xxx., No. 4; also Pl. iii., No. 1 (*E*). Notice and figure copied by S. D. Peet, Amer. Antiq., Vol. V., (1883), p. 254.

"Junction Group," consisting of four circles, three crescents, two squares and four mounds, on Paint Creek, two miles southwest of Chillicothe. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., pp. 61–63, Pl. xxii., No. 1.

Earthworks on Scioto River, twelve miles above Chillicothe, consisting of wall and ditch. Described and figured in Anc. Mon., pp. 34–35, Pl. xii., No. 4.

Mounds near Hallsville. Reported by Luther Yeaple.

A number of small mounds in Concord township, close to the Fayette county line. Some of these probably lie in Fayette county. Reported by Gerard Fowke.

Mounds in the vicinity of Roxabelle. Reported by W. J. Parker.

Mound fifteen feet high, two miles east of Clarksburg.

Mounds in Jefferson township, on Caldwell's and Rittenour's lands.

Mounds in Franklin township, on Foster's and Higbee's lands.

Mounds at Anderson Station, six miles west of Chillicothe. Reported by Gerard Fowke.

Mound on Mount Logan, opposite Chillicothe. Western Gazetteer, p. 303. Drake's Indians. N. A., (15th Ed.), p. 58. Marked on Pl. ii., Anc. Mon.

SCIOTO COUNTY.

"Mounds and walls are numerous in this county; a wall from four to seven feet high extends from the Great to the Little Miami, a distance of seven miles." Western Gazetteer, p. 301.

Ancient works five miles north of Portsmouth, consisting of a circular enclosure and inclosed effigy mound. Described and figured, Anc. Mon., pp. 83–84, Pl. xxix., No. 2.

Ancient works near Portsmouth, consisting of enclosures, walls, mounds, etc. Described by Caleb Atwater, Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., (1820), pp. 151–156. Anc. Mon., pp. 77–78, Pl. xxvii. Further description, pp. 78-82, by groups (A. B. C.) on Pl. xxviii. (Groups *A* and *C* of this plan lie on the Kentucky side, in Greenup county). Described from another survey by G. S. B. Hempstead, Jour. Anthrop. Inst. Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. VII., (1877–8), pp. 132–136, Pl. iv., by R. B. Holt.

Stone graves formerly existed on the hills below the mouth of the Scioto. Reported by Gerard Fowke.

SHELBY COUNTY.

A mound in the northern part of Van Buren township. Explored; contained balls and burnt human bones. Described by C. Williamson, "Science," Vol. IX., (1887), p. 135.

SUMMIT COUNTY.

An ancient fort on the land of William and Randolph Robinson, near the south line of Boston township, on the east bank of Cuyahoga river, and a mound a mile up the valley therefrom on the land of Nathan Point. Described and figured by Colonel Whittlesey, Tract 5, West. Res. Hist. Soc., (1871), pp. 13–15, and 39.

Rock-shelters three miles west of Hudson village, contained ashes, human bones, stone implements, etc.

Deposit of black chert disks on the farm of Mr. M. Graham. Reported by M. C. Read, Sm. Rep., 1879, pp. 439–440. Amer. Antiq., Vol. I., (1878), p. 98.

Ancient earthwork (enclosure), known as "Island Fort," at Copley. Brief description and figure by Colonel Whittlesey, Tract 41, West. Res. Hist. Soc., pp. 33–34.

Ancient works (walls, ditches and caches), near North Hampton. Described and figured by Colonel Whittlesey, Tract 5, West. Res. Hist. Soc., (1871), pp. 15–18, Pl. v., vi., vii.

Ancient works, consisting of walls, ditches, pits, mounds, etc., near Northfield. Described and figured by Colonel Whittlesey, Tract 5, West. Res. Hist. Soc., (1871), pp. 12–13, Pl. iv.

Large deposit of leaf-shaped flint knives on the border of a marsh near Akron, Ohio. Noticed by M. C. Read, Am. Antiq., Vol. I., (1878), No. 2, p. 98.

TRUMBULL COUNTY.

Mound one-third of a mile southeast of Braceville, on a terrace above the Mahoning river. Examined and described by S. N. Luther, Sm. Rep., 1881, p. 592.

Mound about one mile north of the village of West Farmington. Examined; contained various specimens. Described by F. Miller, Sm. Rep., 1877, p. 268.

WARREN COUNTY.

"Fort Ancient," on a bluff in Washington township, over-

looking the Little Miami, six miles east of Lebanon. Described and plan given in the "Portfolio" (Phila., 1809). Described and figured by Caleb Atwater, Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., (1820), pp. 156–159, Pl. ix. Howe's Hist. Coll. Ohio, pp. 503–505. Drake's "Pictures of Cin." (1815), p. 2. Western Gazetteer, p. 292. Anc. Mon., (1847), pp. 18–21, Pl. vii. Drake's Inds. N. A. (15th Ed.), p. 58. Amer. Antiq., Vol. I., (1878), pp. 49–51, and Vol. V., (1883), pp 238–239. Statement of present condition, Sixteenth Rep. Peab. Mus., (1884), Vol. III., pp. 168–169; also by Prof. Cyrus Thomas, with figures, in "Science," Vol. VIII , (1886).

A mound on N. W. Quar. Sec. 23, Franklin township. Opened and briefly described.

Two mounds on the S. W. Quar. Sec. 22, Franklin township, between the turnpike and the township line. Opened. Briefly noticed by J. P. MacLean, Sm. Rep., 1883, p. 851.

Ancient works (fortifications and mounds) near Foster's Crossing, on the hills west of the Little Miami. Brief notice by Josiah Morrow, Sm. Rep., 1879, p. 439. Reported also by J. D. Blackburn.

WASHINGTON COUNTY.

"The Marietta Works," consisting of enclosures, mounds, embankments, etc., situated on and near the site of the present town of Marietta. Described in the Albany (N. Y.) Gazette, 1788; (republished in the Hist. Mag., 2d Ser., Vol. III., (1868), pp. 50–51.) Brief description and plat made by Winthrop Sargent and communicated to the Amer. Acad. of Arts and Sci., (Bost.), 1787; published in the Memoirs Am. Acad., New Ser., Vol. V., (1883), pp. 25–28. Noticed by Harte in 1791. Described in Harris's "Tour," (1805), pp. 149–161. Thomas Ashe, "Travels," (ed. 1808), pp. 126–141. Western Gazetteer, p. 310. Atwater, Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., pp. 168–173. Priest's "Am. Antiquities," pp. 160–162. Warden's Recherch., pp. 21–22, Pl. ii. Howe's Hist. Coll. Ohio, pp. 515–517. Anc. Mon. from Survey by Colonel Whittlesey, (1847), pp. 73–77, Pl. xxvi.

Shell heaps and mounds on Blannerhassett's Island. Explored and described by J. P. MacLean. Sm. Rep., 1881, pp. 683–684, and Sm. Rep., 1882, pp. 759–768.

Mound on the Muskingum, about four miles from Marietta, from which copper articles were obtained. Explored, and described by Daniel Drake in a letter to Caleb Atwater. Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., (1820), pp. 174–175.

Enclosure (oblong, one end square, the other round) accompanied by eleven mounds, near the town of Lowell. Brief notice and figure, Anc. Mon., p. 92, Pl. xxxii., No. 2.

Mounds, walls and ditches on the Muskingum river. Description (copied from Harris's "Tour"), Western Gazetteer, or Emigrant's Directory, p. 314.

WAYNE COUNTY.

"Tyler's Fort," an ancient entrenchment on Sec. 24, upon the heights northeast of Tylerstown. Described by Geo. W. Hill, Sm. Rep., 1877, p. 261.

Enclosure and burial mound south of the road leading from Lake Fork to Blatchleysville. Described by H. B. Case, Sm. Rep., 1881, p. 595; marked H. on diagram, p. 594.

Several mounds near Shreeve. Reported by E. D. Peacock, Sm. Rep., 1879, p. 439.

WOOD COUNTY.

Ancient walls and ditches on the right bank of the Maumee river, two miles above Toledo. Described and figured by Colonel Whittlesey, Anc. Mon., p. 40, Fig. viii.

A list of the ancient enclosures of Ohio, so far as known, giving the counties and townships in which each is located, is found in J. P. MacLean's "Mound Builders," pp. 230–233. A similar list, but more complete, is given in the Ohio Centennial Report, pp. 137–141.

SERVICES OF THE OHIO COMPANY IN DEFENDING THE UNITED STATES FRONTIER FROM INVASION.

When General Putnam undertook the superintending of the Ohio Company and landed with his organized force of pioneers at Marietta on April 7th, 1788, he assumed a more important and difficult task than that of opening a wilderness for cultivation and providing houses and homes for settlers.

On his way out from Massachusetts he stopped over in New York and made himself thoroughly acquainted with the real situation of Indian affairs in the Northwest Territory. He became satisfied that former treaties were not cordially accepted by the Indians as a finality, and that he was facing a war the moment he set foot on the soil northwest of the River Ohio. He at once undertook a system of defences at the cost of his Company. He did not trust alone or mainly to the United States troops then stationed at Fort Harmar. It was the duty of the government to provide for the protection of their own citizens who had ventured out to improve the public domain. But Putnam was fully aware of the poverty and inefficiency of his government to afford the protection which his followers had a right to demand. He virtually assumed to take the place of the United States in this matter of defensive war against *their enemies*, and to do it at the cost of his Company.

Notwithstanding this wise foresight on his part he indulged in a hope of protection based upon the fact that Fort Harmar had already been established at the mouth of the Muskingum. He writes to Dr. Cutler, dated Adelphi, May 16th, 1788, about a month after his arrival, "Should there be an Indian war this will be a place of general rendezvous for an army, so that in all human probability the settlement can

never fail of the protection of government." But he was doomed to disappointment in this expectation.

St. Clair's Treaty of '89 modified the situation somewhat, but in '91 the storm of war broke out. Government instead of sending aid to the Marietta settlers, removed the slender protection afforded by the United States troops in Fort Harmar, transferred them to Fort Washington so as to protect the more populous districts of Kentucky, and to operate to better advantage against the great body of the Indians. Putnam placed his settlements under martial law, ordered all to rendezvous at Waterford, Marietta or Belpre, and undertook the defense of those three forts.

In the fall of 1790, government granted an enlistment of militia, who were placed under Colonel Sproat, but the following order, issued by Governor St. Clair, deprived the Ohio Company settlers of any governmental protection:

"FORT WASHINGTON, July 6th, 1791.

"The act calling the militia for the defence of the Frontier has been found to be a very unavailing measure and at the same time attended with a very heavy expense. You will therefore discharge all the parties that have been called out for the defense of Washington County, (except at Gallipolis for which I have already given orders), upon the 20th inst. But there is nothing in this order to be construed to prevent you from continuing either the parties now embodied or such others as you may think necessary, provided the expense is borne by the people themselves; but the United States will not defray any that may be incurred after that day."

This threw the entire expense of the war in this section of the Northwest upon the Ohio Company.

In their petition to Congress, March 2d, 1792, the directors represent the great hardship thus imposed upon them by being compelled virtually to assume the responsibilities and charges of the United States in this crisis. They say: "The great expense of the Company has amounted already to more than *thirty-three thousand dollars* in specie, besides 100 acres of land to each share." They attribute this expense largely to "the hazard and extraordinary services of the settlers in securing their own protection."

"The settlers found themselves in a more hazardous situation than they expected. The small number of troops

assigned to Western Territory being inadequate to that protection of the frontier which was necessary to give security, the people found they must erect defenses wherever they sat down—that they must work in companies and guards must be continually kept or they could neither labor or sleep in safety."

The Directors entered into a contract to give as a bounty 100 acres of land to those who would perform military service to "*the end of the war.*" Those pioneer settlers had as much right to *protection* from their savage enemy as the citizens of New York or Philadelphia had from foreign invasion, and they came out depending upon it.

General Putnam took this view of the matter, and in a letter to President Washington, dated Jan. 8th, 1791, he says: "The Garrison at Harmar consisting at this time of little more than 20 men can afford no protection to our settlements. It has been a mystery with some why these troops have been withdrawn from this quarter and collected at the Miami.

"I will only observe further that our situation is truly distressing, and I do therefore most earnestly implore the protection of Government for myself and friends inhabiting the wilds of America—to this we consider ourselves entitled."

Notwithstanding such appeals the burden of this defensive war was thrown upon the Ohio Company. They accepted it and held their forts through the war. The following is an exact "statement of account" as between the Company and the United States, copied from an old manuscript in General Putman's hand-writing, and found among his papers:

ABSTRACT OF MILITIA IN THE PAY OF THE OHIO COMPANY DURING THE INDIAN WAR.

1790	At Marietta for 1 month, wages and parts of Rations	$ 135 03	
	Bellprie for one month, wages and Rations	92 00	
	Waterford for 1 month, wages and Rations	70 00	
			$ 297 03
1791	Marietta for Jan., Feb. and March	696 00	
1791	Marietta for April, May and June	839 03	
1791	Bellprie, Jan., Feb. and March	613 37	
	Bellprie, April and May	683 00	

1791	Waterford, Jan. Feb. and March	395 03		
	Waterford, April, May and June	498 00		
				3724 43
	Paid to Spyes, their Wages and Rations	878 71		
	Paid to extra Scouts and Guards	183 08		
	Paid to Surgeons, their wages and rations	229 71		
	Paid for Medicine and nursing sick	30 21		
				1321 71
	To the amount of rations issued by Commissaries	$1729 52		
	So the amount of provisions furnished by Company	813 37		
	To amount of whiskey purchased	387 21		
	To amount of Ammunition purchased	506 68		
				$3436 78

EXPENSE OF FORTIFICATIONS ERECTED.

	To the amount of Labour on the several works	$3888 13		
	To Lumber employed, viz.: boards, brick, timber, &c	382 39		
	To Black Smith work, Iron, &c	101 64		
	To Sundries, viz.: nails, tin, paper, trenching tools, &c	296 68		4668 84
				$13449 59

TO CHARGES MADE BY THE DIRECTORS.

1791	Viz.: To Rufus Putnam		$113 00	
1791	To Robert Oliver at Marietta	$351 00		
	To Robert Oliver, extra services and expense	173 33		
1791	To Robert Oliver at Marietta	90 00	614 33	
1791	To Griffin Greene at Belprie and Marietta	373 50		
1792	To Griffin Greene at Belprie and Marietta	118 50	492 00	$1219 33
				14668 92
	To goods purchased and applied for the redemption of prisoners			40 00
				$14708 92

Journal Page.	CONTRA CREDIT.			
230	By the United States towards the pay and rations of Militia refunded	$2549 42		
215	By the amount of 970 rations discounted by Elliot & Williams per Governor's order	64 66		
	By the amount of provisions, whiskey, ammunition, &c., &c., charged to individuals	743 94	$3358 02	
	Balance of clear expense			$11350 90

Journal 212. N. B.—Col. Sproat's return of Militia, July 5th, 1790, is 246 including officers.

Dr. Hildreth is authority for saying that the above "clear balance" "was never repaid by the United States, although justly due them."

The paltry sum of about $3,000,000—which would about represent that old "*balance*" at 6 per cent. per annum, in-

terest payable annually up to 1888—is not to have weight in any adjustment of obligations as between this great Nation and its Founders. The lesson of their lives is beyond computation in money value to the coming generation upon whom is fast devolving the responsibility of preserving that which they founded.

Marietta is not a mendicant in demanding some suitable recognition of the services, the sacrifices and endurance of the Pioneer Fathers. The full cost of a Monumental Structure *has been paid in advance.* The above exhibit is not the only one that might be presented.

But it is not alone or mainly the small band of brave and true men who were personally engaged in the first settlement at Marietta whose memories ought to be cherished and honored. The wisdom of great statesmen, the responsible authors of Organic Laws, and the valor and endurance composing the "Old Continental Line" cluster around events that culminated here. This great Nation can not afford to fling back upon such an ancestry the stinging taunt of the Newburg letters: "*Go! starve, and be forgotten!*"

WILLIAM P. CUTLER.

NOTES.

PRESERVATION OF OHIO MOUNDS.—Three years ago Professor F. W. Putnam, in a letter to one of the editors of the QUARTERLY, said: "The State of Ohio has an important trust in her keeping, and one which has been neglected too long. Even now, many of the important works of the peoples who formerly lived in her beautiful valleys, have been leveled by the plough or thoughtlessly destroyed in building towns and cities." At the annual meeting for 1886 of the State Archæological and Historical Society, the necessity of immedite steps to preserve the mounds and earthworks in Ohio was strongly urged and a permanent committee was chosen to present the matter to the Legislature. As yet little impression has been made on the law-makers and purse-holders, but the subject has by no means been dropped. In a recent communication to the *Ohio State Journal* President Sessions, of our Society, again urges the necessity of action, and among other things says:

"Ohio is richer in archæological and prehistoric remains than any other State, and thus far has done absolutely nothing to protect the many ancient mounds, earthworks, burial places and village sites. It is not very flattering to one's State pride that some Boston women were applied to by Professor Putman of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., to buy the famous Serpent Mound in Adams county. If he had not taken an interest in its preservation it is evident it would soon be a thing of the past. Is it not to be deplored that the public-spirited citizens of Ohio do not take a deeper interest in the preservation of these wonderful remains of a prehistoric race? It is to be hoped that the Governor will call the attention of the Legislature in his message to the importance of their preservation, and that a small appropriation may be made toward securing from destruction some of the more important and ancient monuments of our State. There

are many others as important as the 'Serpent' which need attention at once to preserve them."

A member of the Society writes: "We must do something before the centennial celebration for their purchase and protection, or be *disgraced*." Every member of the Society should use his influence to interest the members of the Legislature in the matter, in order that the State may fitly add to the glory of its centennial by the purchase of the more important of the works of its prehistoric inhabitants.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—This Association, now numbering 431 members, among whom are the foremost statesmen, historians, and teachers of history in the United States, will hold its next annual meeting in Columbus, in September 1888. The association has never met in the West, and comes now upon invitation of the State authorities, the State Archæological and Historical Society, and Ohio State University. The important historical events to be commemorated here next year doubtless determined the Society in its choice. The meetings will be full of interest to all students of history. Western and Northwestern history will receive special attention, and it is probable that at least one session will be devoted exclusively to those subjects. A recent communication of the Secretary of the Association says: "The meeting of the Association, at Columbus, in September, will be quite distinct from any local celebration in that city, but special attention will be given to Western History, in his opening address, by Dr. William F. Poole, of the Newberry Library, Chicago, who is now the President of the Association."

Not only ought the members of our Society to take advantage of the historical treat certain to be afforded by the papers presented at this meeting, but a large number of them ought also to be enrolled among the members of the American Association. At the meetings of the Association many papers of great value are presented, of which full printed abstracts are sent to every member, and, in addition, several monographs are published each year for distribution among

the members. The aims and ideas of the Association are fairly set forth in the following statement:

"The constitutional object of the organization is the promotion of historical studies. The primary motive for membership is therefore scientific. The Association has accomplished results that can not be estimated by any pecuniary standard of value. It has encouraged original research by its meetings and publications; it has brought historical students and specialists together; it has caused a more frequent exchange of ideas among them, and it has awakened greater public interest in historical studies. The present enthusiasm for history, not only in American colleges and universities, but in the States at large, is in no small degree the fruit of the American Historical Association."

What our Society has been striving amid great difficulties to do for Ohio history and its study, the American Historical Association is doing in a wider field. It is to be hoped that both will continue to grow in membership and in usefulness.

THE ANNUAL AND MONTHLY MEETINGS.—The next annual meeting of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, instead of occurring at the regular time in February, will be held at Marietta, in April, in connection with the Centennial celebration. The Society will present no special program of its own, but will join in the exercises commemorative of the centennial of the settlement of the Northwest Territory. The full program of these exercises will appear in the March QUARTERLY.

The monthly meetings of the Society at Columbus will be resumed early in the New Year, and addresses will be delivered during the winter by Professor Cyrus Thomas, Professor F. W. Putnam, Dr. B. A. Hinsdale and others. These papers will be printed full or in abstract in the QUARTERLY, thus enabling all members of the Society who cannot attend the meetings to know the main features of the addresses. In view of the peculiar interest attaching to the coming celebrations of 1888, it is expected that these meetings and addresses will be unusually attractive.

OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Proceedings for the Year 1886, with Abstracts of Addresses and Papers Presented before the Society.

Columbus, January 13th, 1886.

The Society was called to order in the Chamber of the House of Representatives in the State House by Professor L. D. Brown. The report of the Secretary showed the addition of ten members since the last meeting, and several valuable donations to the library and museum.

The special committee of three to confer with a similar committee of the State Board of Agriculture concerning a Centennial Exposition in 1888 reported that such conference had been held, and that as a result this Society was requested to appoint three Commissioners to act on the Centennial Commission. On motion of S. S. Rickly the report was accepted and the appointment of the Commissioners was referred to the Executive Committee.

Professor J. P. McLean, of Hamilton, Ohio, then delivered an address upon "The Mound Builders," illustrated with stereopticon views.

Owing to the character of the address it is impossible to give a complete abstract, but the following shows its general nature:

With reference to the origin of the original or aboriginal Americans, there is not a single straw to show whence they came. Many of the aboriginal tribes undoubtedly sprang from a common family, but an attempt to give their origin is but to indulge in speculation. Ohio presents the most specimens from which to study archæology, there being within her boundaries about fifteen hundred mounds. The time was when the State was partly mountainous, but a leveling has been effected by a change of climate and other causes.

He then proceeded to consider the geology of the country and gave later a description of the more important mounds in the State—among them Fort Ancient in Warren county, Fortified Hill in Butler county, a mound in Highland county, and a stone structure near Bourneville, in Ross county. Sacred mounds, with one known exception, were composed of clay, and are peculiar to Southern Ohio. The speaker then described in detail some fifty views of mounds, ancient implements, etc., which were projected upon the screen by the stereopticon.

At the conclusion of the address, the Society, upon motion, adjourned.

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

COLUMBUS, February 18th, 1886.

THE Society met in the State Library at two o'clock P. M. Owing to the absence of President Allen G. Thurman, Roeliff Brinkerhoff, Second Vice President, occupied the chair.

The report of the Treasurer for the year ending February 19th, 1886, was submitted, and referred to the Executive Committee.

The annual report of the Secretary was then presented, as follows:

To the Executive Committee, Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN: The membership for the year just closed is as follows:

Two hundred and thirty-one Active Members have joined by the payment of $5.00 each.

Three Active Members have joined by donations.

Four Associate Members have joined by payment of $3.00 each.

One Life Member has been received, making a total of two hundred and thirty-nine members.

The collections in the Museum may be summarized as follows:

The Ohio Commissioners of the New Orleans Exposition gave the Society twenty large cases, which, at some expense were prepared for our use, and are now a safe repository for donations.

They also gave the painted portraits of all Ohio's Governors down to and including Governor Hoadly; one large Archæological and Historical Map of Ohio, and seventeen smaller maps.

In the cases are now Dr. Hart's collection, some three thousand specimens, donated in September, 1885; the collection of Ohio State University, and a number of smaller donations, aggregating in all some five thousand specimens.

A large number of books, papers, pictures, pamphlets, etc., were received from various sources.

The money value of the museum at the end of the first year more than equals the amount received in fees, hence the investment as a financial one, is a decided success.

Large cabinets of Ohio archæologists are offered the Society if it will assume the proper care, and place the museum so that its benefits can be enjoyed by all our people. It is earnestly desired that every Ohio citizen will encourage this movement and thus secure for Ohio a State Society and a State museum worthy the name and the people of Ohio.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary.

On motion of W. P. Cutler the following gentlemen, whose terms of office had just expired, were re-elected Trustees for three years, viz:

A. W. JONES, Youngstown, HYLAS SABINE, Richwood,
H. A. THOMPSON, Westerville, I. W. ANDREWS, Marietta,
J. S. ROBINSON, Kenton.

On motion of W. P. Cutler a committee of five was appointed to formulate a plan for a Centennial Memorial at Marietta, commemorative of the first settlement of Ohio. The Chair appointed as such committee, Wm. P. Cutler, Marietta; Charles Townsend, Athens; Dr. N. S. Townshend, Columbus; J. S. Peaslee, Cincinnati; A. W. Jones, Youngstown.

On motion of Professor G. Frederick Wright, of Oberlin, a committee of five was appointed to consider and present to the proper committee of the General Assembly the claims of the ancient earthworks and mounds of the State for protection. The committee was appointed as follows: Professor G. F. Wright, Oberlin; Dr. I. W. Andrews, Marietta; W. C. Turner, Columbus; R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield; Judge M. F. Force, Cincinnati.

A motion of Professor B. A. Hinsdale, of Cleveland, was carried, that "the committee be instructed to do all that it can within its means to inform the people of the State upon the subject of the preservation of our earthworks, with a view to create popular interest therein."

Upon the suggestion of the Secretary that changes in some parts of the By-Laws seemed advisable, the Chair appointed Dr. I. W. Andrews of Marietta, Dr. H. A. Thompson of Westerville, and Alexis Cope of Columbus, a committee to examine the same and report to the society.

A communication was then presented, tendering the use of the Senate Chamber, after four o'clock, to the Society, for the delivery of the memorial address on the late Henry B. Curtis, of Mt. Vernon, first Vice President of the Society.

On motion the invitation was accepted with the thanks of the Society, after which the Society adjourned to the Senate Chamber, where Hon. A. R. McIntyre, of Mt. Vernon, delivered the Memorial Address on the late Henry B. Curtis.

[This address was printed in the QUARTERLY for June, 1887, page 47.]

EVENING SESSION.

FEBRUARY 18th, 1886.

THE Society met in the Senate Chamber, at 7:45 o'clock, in public session. The first paper was read by Professor G. F. Wright, of Oberlin, on "The Relation of the Glacial Period to Archæology in Ohio."

[This paper was printed in the QUARTERLY for September, 1887, page 174.]

At the conclusion of this paper, Professor W. H. Venable, of Cincinnati, was introduced, who read a paper entitled

"Early Modes of Travel from the East to the Mississippi Valley." The following is an abstract:

ABSTRACT OF PROFESSOR VENABLE'S PAPER.

Our girls and boys know from their school histories how and when the British lion came to Virginia and New England; how, having devoured the Dutch colony as his prey, he pounced upon and finally swallowed his formidable rival, New France. My purpose is not to retell the old story of wars and conquests, but to trace, briefly, some routes and modes of early westward travel, and more particularly to portray the procession of migration as it moved into the Valley of the Ohio.

After the French and Indian war (1763), English settlers began to occupy lands along the Great Lakes and the chain of lakes in Northern New York. They made way, also, through passes in the Appalachians and around the southern ranges, like water seeking the easiest channel, and came to rest in the valleys of the Cumberland, Tennessee and Ohio. Once fairly started, so rapidly did the current of migration flow westward that by the year 1790 Kentucky had a population of 73,000, which, in 1800, had increased to 220,000. They filed into the Valley of the Ohio, traveling through Cumberland Gap and along the famous route marked out by the original pioneers—the old Wilderness Road. Tramp, tramp, tramp, moved men, women and children over the mountains from Carolina and the Old Dominion, to establish a new dominion by dispersing the buffalo, the catamount and the beaver.

The first roads in the primeval wilderness were developed on the principle of "natural selection," being the chosen ground of wild deer or bison. Western hunters often called such rudimentary paths *streets* or *buffalo roads*. Mann Butler is my authority for recording that in pursuing these buffalo roads through the western canebrakes "the growth of cane was so tall and springy as often to lift both horse and rider off the ground in passing over the strong, elastic stocks." The next phase in evolution after these brute-made tracks was the

Indian trail. Now the civilized axe began its sharp warfare. The trees were "blazed," girdled or hewn down, and the Indian trail became the white man's trace.

What the canoe was to the voyager on river and lake, the pack-horse was to him who transported merchandise by land. The pack-saddle of yore was the express car of the backwoods, carrying passenger, freight and mails. Pack-horses were often driven in lines of ten and twelve. Each horse was tied to the tail of the one going before, so that one driver could manage the whole line. John Filson rode on horseback from his old home in Pennsylvania to Lexington, Ky. It was no uncommon thing for men to take such long equestrian journeys. 'Twas the day of centaurs—man and horse grew together.

Water courses are nature's routes of travel; man finds them ready made for his use. The Mississippi, like a great main street of the continent, was traveled and settlements were made on its banks long before the interior was explored on either side.

The speaker gave interesting details of a journey made in 1792 by boat from Pittsburg to St. Genevieve, on the Mississippi, by H. M. Brackenridge. He also gave a graphic account of a tour made by Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris from Boston to Marietta. In the year 1807 Mr. Christian Shultz made an "inland voyage" from New York City to the West and South, by way of the lakes. Visiting Niagara Falls, he found the margin of the river on the American side so obstructed by trees and bushes that it was difficult to get a view of the cataract, and he resorted to the expedient of climbing a large oak. Shultz was surprised that no public house had yet been established, but he was told that Judge P. contemplated the erection of a "genteel tavern for the accommodation of the curious."

Crossing Lake Erie to Presque Isle, Shultz went on horseback over a portage of fourteen miles to Fort Le Boeuf. The road was indescribably bad. For a great part of the way the mire was so deep that it came up to the rider's knees as he sat in the saddle. It took from sunrise to dark of an August day to flounder fourteen miles. Floating down

the Ohio to its mouth, speculating on the prospect of future traffic between the East and the West, he concluded that New York could never send any goods to the mouth of the Ohio in less than sixty days, nor at a lower rate than six dollars a hundred pounds. Herman Blennerhassett, about the same time, wrote to the *Ohio Gazette*, "It will forever remain impracticable to perform a return voyage against the current of our great rivers."

For a good many years after the advent of the steamboat the greater part of the produce of the upper country was transported down stream on flatboats. But the fittest survive and the unfit degenerate and perish. The helmsman of the keelboat and barge was destined to give place to the pilot in his quaint wheel-house, and the dancing, drinking poleman was superseded by the modern deck-hand or "roustabout," with his leathern mittens and cotton-hook.

The speaker closed his address with a quotation from a speech made by the famous orator Thomas Corwin, in favor of a bill making appropriations for the continuance of the Old Cumberland Road through Ohio, Indiana and Illinois.

At the conclusion of this paper the meeting adjourned until Friday morning, February 19th.

FRIDAY, February 19th, 1886.

THE Society met at 10 o'clock in the State Library, Dr. H. A. Thompson in the chair.

On motion of E. O. Randall, of Columbus, a committee of five was appointed to nominate members of the Board of Trustees to be elected by the Society in addition to those elected yesterday. As such committee the chair appointed E. O. Randall, William P. Cutler, B. A. Hinsdale, W. S. Goodenough and D. H. Gard.

A paper was then read by Dr. F. O. Hart, of West Unity, Ohio, on "Modern Customs of Savage Origin." Following is a brief sketch of the paper:

The time-honored customs of past ages are being continually resurrected, and we find traces of them throughout all

the vocations of the present day. How widely distributed is the use of the sacred numbers, three, four and seven. We find it in the early worship of the gods who represented the four cardinal points; we find it in the primitive geography; we find it in the rude savage architecture. Many of our customs of courtship and marriage are of savage origin. Polygamy was and is common among many savage tribes. Our fashions of dress are, many of them, but resurrections; our love for jewelry and our modern styles of hair-dressing are nearly all derived from savage origin. The out-of-door sports of to day are but survivals of modifications of ancient and savage recreations. Our knowledge of and love for tobacco comes from the Indians of America. Much of the superstitious belief, prevalent even to-day among the ignorant, in the potency of certain herbs or charms to cure or prevent disease is borrowed from the savage.

The practice of employing criminals in the building of public works is derived from remote ages. Government of some sort has existed among even the most savage nations. Secret fraternities were not unknown among them. Nowhere were religious ceremonies and rites more carefully observed. In short, with a knowledge of the rise and fall of nations, the causes of their prosperity and adversity, added to our knowledge of the uses of steam, electricity, the printing press, and our institutions of learning, if we would carefully search the records of the past and reject all the savage customs that degenerate mankind and have been the downfall of all nations past, the dawning of the golden age would be in the near future.

This paper was followed by one on "Art and Artists in Columbus," by F. C. Sessions, of Columbus.

[This excellent paper has been printed in the *Ohio State Journal*, February 20, 1886, and in the *Magazine of Western History*, Vol. iv, No. 3, (July, 1886), p. 316, where it is included in an extended article on Art and Artists in Ohio.]

At its conclusion the Society took a recess, to meet at Ohio State University at 2:30 P. M.

At 2:30 the members of the Society re-assembled in the chapel at Ohio State University, Dr. H. A. Thompson in the chair.

The committee to consider changes in the By-Laws reported several amendments. The report was adopted, and the amendments incorporated in the By-Laws.

The committee on preservation of Ohio Earthworks made a partial report, which was accepted, and on motion the committee was continued as a standing committee.

The committee on the Centennial Memorial at Marietta, presented the following report:

"The committee to whom was referred the subject of a Centennial Monument, to be erected at Marietta, take leave to report the following recommendation:

"1. They recommend that this Society accept the general supervision and oversight of an effort to procure the necessary means to accomplish that object.

"2. That a memorial be presented to the Legislature of Ohio asking for their co-operation and assistance.

"3. That a correspondence be opened by the Society, with the different State Historical Societies, that may feel an interest in the erection of a Centennial Monument at Marietta, with a view to securing their co-operation in that enterprise.

"WM. P. CUTLER,
Chairman."

The report was adopted and the committee continued as a standing committee.

The Committee on Nominations nominated F. C. Sessions, of Columbus, for Trustee for two years, in place of H. B. Curtis, deceased, and Chas. J. Wetmore, of Columbus, for Trustee for one year, in place of T. Ewing Miller, resigned. The report was adopted, and the elections made as recommended.

The Society then adjourned to meet in the evening in the Senate Chamber.

FEBRUARY 19th, 1887.

THE Society reassembled in the Senate Chamber, James S. Robinson of Kenton, presiding. A paper on "Pyramids and Buried Cities in the Land of the Montezumas," by Mrs.

Fannie B. Ward, of Ravenna, Ohio, was read by the Secretary. [The paper, or an extended abstract of it, will appear in the QUARTERLY.—EDITORIAL COMMITTEE].

At the conclusion of the paper, brief addresses were made by Hon. G. G. Washburn of Lorain county, Professor H. H. Howe, and Dr. I. W. Andrews of Marietta.

The Society then adjourned.

ACTION OF THE TRUSTEES.

The Trustees of the Society, at a meeting held in the President's Room at Ohio State University on Friday, February 19th, elected for the ensuing year, the following

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

President—Allen G. Thurman, Columbus.
First Vice President—F. C. Sessions, Columbus.
Second Vice President—R Brinkerhoff, Mansfield.
Secretary and Librarian—A. A. Graham, Columbus.
Treasurer—H. T. Chittenden, Columbus.

The following standing committees were also elected:

Executive Committee—F. C. Sessions, J. S. Robinson, N. S. Townshend, H. A. Thompson and C. J. Wetmore.

Finance Committee—J. S. Robinson, W. E. Moore and H. T. Chittenden.

Library Committee—C. J. Wetmore, S. C. Derby, R. W. Stevenson and N. S. Townshend.

The question of publishing an annual volume of the proceedings of the Society was discussed, and on motion was referred to the Library Committee, with power to act.

COLUMBUS, March 26th, 1886.

THE Society met in Senate chamber in the State House. In the absence of President Thurman, Dr. William E. Moore, of the Board of Trustees, presided.

The report of the Secretary showed the addition of eighteen new members since the previous meeting.

The Secretary reported the death of General John H. Dev-

ereux, a member of the Society, and stated that Judge Stevenson Burke would prepare a memorial sketch to be presented at the April meeting of the Society.

The Chairman then introduced Captain Alfred E. Lee, who read a paper upon "The History of Bi-Metallism." [This paper has since been printed in the "Political Science Quarterly."]

On motion of S. S. Rickly, a vote of thanks was extended to the author of the paper, after which the Society adjourned.

COLUMBUS, April 30th, 1886.

THE Society met in the Senate chamber, and was called to order by Dr. William E. Moore. In the absence of the Secretary, E. O. Randall acted as Secretary *pro tem.*

The monthly report of the Secretary showed eleven new members since the last meeting.

Judge Stevenson Burke having telegraphed that he could not be present to deliver the memorial address upon General J. H. Devereux, only routine business was transacted.

Professor F. W. Putnam, of Cambridge, Mass., and General John Nicholson, of Philadelphia, Pa., were elected honorary members of the Society, after which the Society adjourned until autumn.

COLUMBUS, November 19th, 1886.

THE Society met in the City Hall. In the absence of President Thurman, Dr. H. A. Thompson, of the Executive Committee, presided.

The Secretary's report showed a gratifying increase in the membership of the Society, and several donations to the museum and library.

E. O. Randall, of Columbus, then read a paper upon "Blennerhassett." [This paper was printed in the QUARTERLY for September, 1887, page 127.]

At its conclusion the Society, on motion, adjourned.

COLUMBUS, December 20th, 1886.

THE Society met in the Christian Church, F. C. Sessions, First Vice President, in the chair.

The Secretary reported that four corresponding members and eighteen active members had been received since the last meeting; and that donations had been made to the library.

Professor B. A. Hinsdale, of Cleveland, was then introduced, who delivered an address upon "The First Circumnavigation of the Earth." [A very full abstract of this address was printed in the QUARTERLY for September, 1887, page 164.]

At the conclusion of the paper the Society, upon motion, adjourned.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary.

ERRATUM—Page 228, third line, for 1773 read 1763.

OHIO

Archæological and Historical

QUARTERLY.

MARCH, 1888.

LEGISLATION IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.

April 2, 1788, a band of forty-eight pioneers left the mouth of the Youghiogheny in the "Mayflower of the West." Floating out into the Monongahela, they emerged on the broad bosom of the Ohio, and began an easier journey down that beautiful river to their chosen homes in the valley below. Five days after, they landed on the bank of the Muskingum river, at its confluence with the Ohio, and the first settlement of the Americans in the Northwest territory began. On the opposite side of the Muskingum river stood Fort Harmar, erected two years before, now garrisoned by a detachment of United States soldiers. The pioneers not only found protection from the Indians near at hand, but enjoyed the society of frontiersmen somewhat accustomed to backwoods life.

This company of settlers was composed almost entirely of an excellent class of men, determined upon founding homes for their families, and in a measure retrieving their fortunes lost in the war for independence. They recognized the necessity of some form of government until the proper officers should arrive, and hence organized themselves into a body politic, adopted a code of laws, and chose Return Jonathan Meigs to administer them. His-

tory is silent as to whose hand wrote these laws, but they must have been brief and directly to the point. Mr. Meigs published them by nailing them to a tree where all could see and read them. As an evidence of the character of the settlers, it is known that but one difference arose, and that was satisfactorily settled by a compromise.

Six months before the establishment of the colony—October 5, 1787—the Congress of the old Federation appointed Arthur St. Clair Governor, and Winthrop Sargent Secretary of the "Territory Northwest of the Ohio River." On the 16th of the same month they appointed Samuel Holden Parsons, John Armstrong and Mitchell Varnum judges. Mr. Armstrong declining the appointment, January 16, 1788, John Cleves Symmes was chosen to the vacancy. These judges were among the early arrivals, one of them, Judge Varnum, delivering an excellent oration on the Fourth of July, on the occasion of the pioneer celebration of that day in the West.

Governor St. Chair arrived at the colony July 9th, and at once assumed authority. On the 15th he published the Compact of 1787—the Constitution of the Territory—and the commissions of himself and the three judges. He also, in a speech of considerable length, explained the provisions of the ordinance to the people. Three days after, he sent a communication to the judges, calling attention to the defenseless condition of the colony from sudden attacks of Indians, and to the necessity of the organization of militia companies. Instead of attending promptly to this necessary matter, they entirely ignored his message, and in turn sent him a "project" for dividing real estate. The "project" was so loosely drawn that Governor St. Clair discarded it, and immediately organized "Senior" and "Junior" grades of militia, and appointed over them their proper officers.

On the 25th of July, the first law of the territory was published, and the next day the Governor's proclamation appeared creating Washington county, which then com-

prised a large part of what is now the State of Ohio. He next established Courts of Probate and Quarter Sessions and appointed civic officers for the same. Common Pleas Court was established August 30th. Return Jonathan Meigs was appointed Clerk of this Court, and Ebenezer Sproat, (then Colonel of the Militia) Sheriff. Rufus Putnam was appointed Judge of Probate Court, and Return Jonathan Meigs Jr., Clerk. Following these selections, putting the machinery of government in motion, Governor St. Clair ordered the 25th of December be kept as a day of thanksgiving. The little colony was now ready for civil as well as military business. The religious element having been an important factor in its organization, was also not suffered to decline. Indeed like the Puritan Fathers, one of the first acts of the colonists was to offer thanks to God for their propitious journey, and safe arrival.

The first Court in the Territory was held Sept. 2d. It was opened in an impressive manner with an imposing procession before a large number of Indians, who had gathered to form a treaty with the commander of the Fort, and who were stoical and silent witnesses to the parade.

During the summer and autumn following the settlement at Marietta, large numbers of emigrants come down the Ohio, seeking homes in the Western wilds. The commander at the fort estimated that over five thousand passed the fort, many of whom would have settled with the colony had the associates been prepared to receive them. As it was, the new and ever growing quarters at the settlement were inadequate to accommodate those who did stop, and all kinds of temporary structures were utilized till more permanent habitations could be erected.

The ordinance of 1787 provided that the governor and judges of the Territory should constitute its legislative body during its first stage of government. They were empowered to adopt such laws from the statute of the original States as should be most applicable to the Territory. Such as they selected were to be submitted to Congress,

whose sanction would make them binding. This seems to have been well understood by Governor St. Clair and the judges; but acting on the principle that the present exigencies of the case demanded something more than the adoption of the old laws, they enacted a number of others, and in several cases simply used the title of an existing law and entirely changed the body thereof. Governor St. Clair knew these could not stand the scrutiny of Congress, much less that of a more critical tribunal, the bar. Nevertheless, believing the end would justify the deed, the Governor and judges proceeded as they had begun. Had any one attempted to codify the laws passed by this council, but little of the original form could have been found. What specific laws were not selected were supplied by an act adopting the general English law which had been in force in one of the older colonies from its earliest existence. When these laws reached Congress they were not acted upon; that body being engaged with weightier matters, simply withheld its approval. This was held to be sufficient pretext for their enforcement, and all acquiesced in obeying them. At the first session of the Territorial Assembly the governor pointed out the defects of these enactments.

The Indian war came on about the time the territorial government got under way, and so engrossed affairs that but little attention was given to legislative matters. Shortly after the close of this war, discovering their laws had not been sanctioned by Congress, the Governor and judges began seriously to doubt their correctness, and at a legislative session, held in Cincinnati in the fall of 1795, they prepared a code of laws adopted from the original States, which code superseded the principal part of those they had previously prepared. They, however, did not strictly confine themselves to the powers conferred on them by the compact of 1787, and altered many of the laws; so much so, that they lost largely their original form.

Prior to the adoption of this code all printing was done

in Philadelphia, but Mr. William Maxwell, having established himself in Cincinnati as a printer, the laws were given him to print. From this circumstance they took the name of the "Maxwell Code," by which appellation they were always known. The Maxwell Code was supposed to be so complete, that but one short legislative session was held thereafter by this body, in 1798, when a few additional laws were adopted, after which they were allowed to stand, (notwithstanding the doubts thrown about them by the failure of Congress to approve them), by the bench, bar and people, and continued in force till acted upon by the Territorial legislature. This body, which had power to *enact* as well as *adopt* laws, found but little trouble in getting the Maxwell Code in proper form, and confirmed all but two of these forms, which two had been before repealed.

The Governor and Judges received their appointments under the old Federation. In the fall of 1788, the first Congress under the new Constitution was chosen, and assembling in April, 1789, elected its officers, installed the first President of the United States, and proceeded to the important business before it.

One of its first official acts was to approve the treaty of Fort Harmar, made the preceding winter, and, recognizing that the commissions of the Territorial officers expired with their old federation, confirmed the reappointment of St. Clair as Governor of the Territorry and Winthrop Sargent as Secretary. On the day that this was done (August 20, 1789) the appointment of Samuel Holden Parsons, John Cleves Symmes, and William Barton as judges was confirmed. Mr. Barton declined, and George Turner was chosen. Judge Parson's death occurred soon after, and Rufus Putnam was appointed, who continued in office till 1796, when he resigned to accept the office of Surveyor General. Joseph Gilman, of Point Harmar, was appointed to the vacancy. Judge Turner left the Territory in 1796, and, not long after resigning, Return Jona-

than Meigs was selected to fill his place. These judges, and a few others noticed elsewhere in the narrative, whose appointments were occasioned by changes and divisions of the Territory, held their commissions till 1799, when they were superseded by senators elected by the people.

This Court retained the powers of its predecessor. It made no changes in the existing laws, and Congress, fully engrossed with more important matters, allowed affairs in the Territory to go on much in their own way.

Had the Indians remained quiet, the change from the first to the second form of government would have occurred much earlier. Emigrants were pouring into the West, and the natives, seeing their choicest lands rapidly occupied by the whites, began to resent these inroads by their only way of action. Troubles soon arose, and in 1791 President Washington laid before Congress a full report of the affairs in the Territory. That body, acting on his advice, authorized the enlistment of militia, chiefly in Kentucky and western Pennsylvania, and appointed over them Governor St. Clair as commanding general. The enlisted men came rapidly to the Territory, and not waiting to become properly drilled nor completely armed, marched to subdue the foe. General Harmar, who went out as field commander, suffered defeat. The brilliant exploits of Captains Williamson, Scott and others were not sufficient, and St. Clair took the lead in person. He was unwilling to go out with men so poorly prepared, but acceded to the popular demand, only to meet with a crushing defeat, from which he never fully recovered. It was conclusively shown that he was not in any way to blame, but he was defeated, and that was enough for the popular mind. He returned with the broken fragments of his army, resumed his duties as governor, and left others to the difficult task now presented. The Indians, flushed with victory, were more agressive than ever, and Congress, realizing the difficult problem before it, took effective measures to meet it.

General Anthony Wayne was appointed military commander, with full powers to act. His decisive and vigorous campaign, ending in 1794, completely subjugated the Indians, forever putting an end to their aggressiveness in this part of the Northwest. They made many efforts, often aided by British arms and munitions of war, but their power was broken and their prestige gone.

The end of the campaign insured peace, and the tide of emigration, broken since 1791, began again to enter the valleys of the Territory. Symmes' Purchase, the Virginia Military Lands, the Western Reserve, and other designated portions began to be filled with homes of pioneers.

Governor St. Clair and the judges left Marietta in 1790, and at Cincinnati established Hamilton county. They proceeded to Vincennes, where Knox county was created, and crossing the prairies of Illinois they established St. Clair county. After their return, trouble with the Indians prevented the extension of civil growth, and not till 1796 was another county, Wayne, created. This was followed by the formation of Adams and Jefferson in 1797, and Ross in 1798. These counties comprised the Territory when the second grade of government was established.

The ordinance of 1787 required that whenever there should be five thousand free white electors in the Territory they should meet at their several voting places, and, choosing their Representatives — not exceeding twenty-five — should pass to the second grade of government. A census was made in 1798, and more than the required number found. The governor's proclamation, issued October 29th, made known the fact, and also ordered the election to be held on the third Monday of December following. The proclamation also required the Representatives to meet in Cincinnati February 4, 1799, and nominate, as required by the ordinance, ten free-holders, whose names should be sent to the President of the United States. From these he was required to choose five, and, with the consent of the Senate, constitute them as a Legislative

Council. This Council, or Upper House, occupied to a certain extent the position of the State Senate of the present day.

The men chosen to the first Territorial Legislature were, almost without exception, the strongest men in their counties. Party influence was hardly felt, and it may be safely asserted, that this body of men has not been excelled since by any chosen to the same places. Though unskilled in parliamentary logic, they were men of strong common sense, and were fully aware of the needs of the country they represented.

The largest delegation came from Hamilton county, which sent William McMillan, John Smith, Robert Benham, Aaron Cadwell, William Goforth, John Ludlow and Isaac Martin. Ross county came next, with Thomas Worthington, Samuel Findley, Elias Langham, and Edward Tiffin. Wayne county sent Solomon Sibley, Jacob Visgar and Charles F. Chobart de Joncaire; Washington county, Return Jonathan Meigs and Paul Fearing; Adams, Joseph Darlington and Nathaniel Massie; Jefferson, James Pritchard; St. Clair, Shadrach Bond; Randolph, John Edgar; Knox, John Small. Many of these men, in after years, came forward prominently in the affairs of their respective States. Of the counties represented, it will be noticed that Wayne county is now Michigan; Knox, Indiana, and St. Clair, Illinois and Wisconsin.

The Representatives assembled February 4, as directed, and selected ten names, which the Governor sent to the Secretary of State, and in due time the President appointed "Jacob Burnet and James Findley, of Cincinnati; Henry Vanderburgh, of Vincennes; Robert Oliver, of Marietta, and David Vance, of Vanceville, to be the members of the Legislative Council of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio." The names were sent to Governor St. Clair, whose proclamation announced them to be inhabitants of the Territory.

The only business accomplished by the Representatives,

February 4, was the selection of the ten names before referred to, after which they adjourned, to meet in Cincinnati, Monday, September 16. That day the first General Assembly of the new Territory met according to adjournment. The Council elected Henry Vanderburgh, President; William C. Schenk, Secretary; George Howard, Doorkeeper, and Abraham Casey, Sergeant-at-Arms. The House elected Edward Tiffin, Speaker; John Reilly, Clerk; Joshua Rowland, Doorkeeper, and Abraham Casey, Sergeant-at-Arms. The next day the two Houses, in joint assembly, listened to a speech from the Governor, who not only congratulated them, and, through them, the people, on the change in the form of government, now essentially their own; but laid before them a full and faithful view of the condition of the Territory. He also pointed out the defectiveness of the laws adopted and enacted by the Council, and urged their legalization by the only body now able to do so.

The Assembly found an enormous amount of work before it. The compact, or constitution of the Territory contained only general laws, and such specific ones as had been passed by the Council were considered of doubtful validity, if not illegal. Many were loosely framed and required a complete revision. The most important laws enacted by this Assembly—including those passed upon heretofore adopted—related to the partition of real estate; assignment by dower; relief of insolvent debtors; regulating intercourse with the Indians; confirming the French Inhabitants in their grants, and insuring them protection; appointing general officers for, and regulating the militia; relieving the poor; defining privileges; establishing courts for the trial of minor cases; execution of real contracts, etc. Laws regarding arbitration, divorce, and punishments for crime were also passed.[1] In short this session

[1] A law was passed at this session by the Council authorizing a lottery. When it reached the House it met with determined resistance and failed of passage by a considerable vote. The effectual opposition seems to have

was an exceedingly busy one. The Territory was yet in a chaotic state, as it were, and needed many acts to properly define the civil duties of its people. Owing to the inexperience of many of the Representatives, the labor of drafting the laws fell to the lot of a few accustomed to detail work. The Representatives generally knew what they wanted, but were unaccustomed to literary work, and beyond the power of expressing, in their own way, what they deemed best, could do little.

Among the most conspicuous and most influential members of the Council was Jacob Burnett, from Cincinnati. He was an early settler there, and from the start a prominent lawyer and useful citizen. He was probably the best prepared man in the Assembly, and certainly no man did more than he. Not only did he draft a majority of all laws passed, but he also compiled a code of rules for both houses, prepared an address to Governor St. Clair, also one to Pres ident Adams, and acted in many other useful places. When the troubles concerning the jurisdictions of Kentucky over the Ohio River arose, his careful investigation induced a settlement between the two commonwealths satisfactory to all.

During the session certain officers of the Virginia line presented a petition, asking to be allowed to remove with their slaves to their military bounty lands between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers. Not only did the Assembly reject the request on the ground of liberty to all, but fortified themselves with that provision in the compact which insured freedom to all in the Territory. The subject came up but once again at a subsequent session, only to receive a decisive refusal, forever precluding any hopes of changing the will of the people on this subject. This first session of the Territorial Assembly passed thirty laws, many of them the most important now on the statute books. Governor St. Clair, always arbitrary and tenacious

borne good fruit, as the measure was not brought forward again in the Territorial Assembly.

regarding his own powers, vetoed eleven, relating mostly to the creation of new counties. This disposition of the governor finally caused a breach between himself and the Assembly, and as he would not concede his views, it arose again at each session, eventually ending in his defeat.

Among the duties devolving on the Assembly was the election of a Delegate in Congress. William Henry Harrison and Arthur St. Clair, jr., were the candidates. By a majority of two, in a vote of twenty-two, Mr. Harrison was chosen. He immediately resigned his place as secretary of the Territory, and proceeded to Philadelphia to occupy his seat, where he was instrumental in securing the passage of many advantageous laws for the Territory. During this session of Congress, Indiana Territory was formed, and Mr. Harrison appointed Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. The erection of this Territory vacated the seat of Mr. Vanderburgh, of Knox county, and of Representatives Shadrach Bond, of St. Clair county; John Edgar, of Randolph, and John Small, of Knox. The division left the eastern part of the Territory to include what is now Ohio and Michigan, and still retaining the name, "Territory Northwest of the River Ohio."

After the close of this session Congress passed a law removing the seat of government to Chillicothe. This was considered by all the best location, but the action of Congress being independent of any expressed desire of the inhabitants, was much criticised. The people thought their representatives alone possessed the legislative control of the Territory. The Assembly had adjourned to meet in Cincinnati again the first Monday in November, 1800, but, accepting the order of Congress, met in Chillicothe. Governor St. Clair again met them, and having stated the measures in his opinion requiring legislative action, referred to the near approach of his retirement from office and to the calumny to which he had been subjected. He intimated his desire that the session close with the end of his term. A respectful reply was returned by each house,

the Council voting unanimously, while the Representatives were divided, the vote being ten in favor to seven against the reply. The Council, like the governor, were appointed to office, and were responsible only to Congress and the president. The Representatives were elected by the people, and were accountable to them. This, and the course of St. Clair in his official acts, resulted in the opposition manifested towards him thus early in the session.

Mr. Harrison's appointment as Governor of the Indiana Territory necessitated the election of a Delegate in his place. Mr. McMillan, of Hamilton county, was chosen for the unexpired term, and Paul Fearing, of Marietta, for the succeeding term of two years.

During this second season upwards of twenty laws were passed. Those most important related chiefly to the recording of town plats; seals to instruments of writing; the maintenance of illegitimate children; establishing Circuit Courts and defining their duties; special Courts of "Oyer and Terminer," and to enforce existing statues regarding the Indians.

The same difficulties arose in this session that had appeared before. The governor contended that to him alone belonged the organization of all counties and appointment of their civil officers until elections could be held. The Assembly contended that after once dividing the Territory into counties, as he had done prior to its first meeting, and the appointment of civil officers therein his powers ended; also that the duty of dividing these and making new counties devolved upon the Legislature. The Assembly contended that the power to lay out new counties where none before existed, did not carry with it the power to divide them into new counties. The Governor insisted on the prerogative being entirely his own, and at both sessions persistently refused to consider bills passed by the Assembly in any way encroaching on his prerogative. The members were anxious to remove the difficulty, and respectfully presented their reasons, asking him to reconsider

his decisions. To this he returned an elaborate reply, giving reasons more plausible than argumentative, and hardly complimentary to the intelligence of the Assembly. As nothing could be done with him, the matter was allowed to rest. It is worthy of remark, that when his report reached Congress, that body decidedly refused to consider the Governor's position correct, and determined that the legislative body alone possessed the powers claimed by St. Clair.

The Governor's refusal to sign the bills creating new counties very seriously interfered with the advancement of these districts whose inhabitants in the temporary absence of the Governor, petitioned Charles Wylling Byrd, the Secretary for relief. He replied that he had no authority to act, but promised his influence to aid them, and advised them to carry their case to the territorial Legislature. Before this could be done, however, the question of a State government became the prevailing theme of the day, absorbing this and all other topics of like import.

During the last session of the Assembly, Governor St. Clair called the attention of the members to the question of voting by ballot, giving his reasons why it would be preferable to the common method of voting *viva voce.* He also suggested more attention be given the Indian question. On December 2d he informed the Assembly that his term of office would expire on the 9th, and that he would expect an adjournment that day. Considerable opposition arose at once to this enforced adjournment, as a large part of the most important business would remain unfinished. All were well aware, however, of Governor St. Clair's obstinacy on any point, and of his power to prorogue the Assembly, and, after deliberation, agreed to act accordingly. There was no time to confer with higher powers, and when the day came all assembled in the House of Representatives and were prorogued without day.

Soon after the Assembly of 1800 closed—in consequence

of the creation of Indiana Territory— Solomon Sibley, of Detroit, one of the members of the Lower House, was appointed to the place in the Council made vacant by the exclusion of Mr. Vanderburgh, while the number of Representatives was reduced by the withdrawal of all those representing that part of the Territory included in the new Territory.

Despite the opposition to St. Clair, on account of his arbitrary rulings and obdurate course in what he thought to be right, President Adams nominated him for the Governor's place, in which he was confirmed by the Senate without delay.

In pursuance of an act of Congress nominating Chillicothe to be the capital of the Territory as it now existed, the third session of the Assembly convened in that place November 24, 1801. Considerable opposition to the removal arose during the preceding session, resulting in an act passed by the Council early in the session, directing that the General Assembly should meet in rotation in Marietta, Cincinnati and Chillicothe. The House concurred in the opinions expressed in the bill, that the representatives of the people, and not Congress, had the right to fix the seat of justice, but could not agree on the "rotation plan," nor could they agree on any one place. This division ultimately disposed of the question.

Governor St. Clair again met both branches of the Assembly in joint session, and again addressed them on the important matters demanding attention. This custom is still in vogue, but is exercised now through the medium of the "Governor's Message."

The principal laws passed this session related to the exemption of persons from militia duty whose religious convictions prevented them from bearing arms; to the inspection of certain articles of export from the Territory; authorizing the Orphans' Court to act in certain chancery cases; a law to enforce the conditions of mortgages, for the partition of real estate, and for the distribution of insolvent estates.

The towns of Cincinnati, Detroit and Chillicothe were incorporated, and the University at Athens established during this session.

The organization of a State government was considerably agitated at this session. The arbitrary acts of the governor had much to do with the movement in advance of the Constitutional time, and at this session a law was passed declaring the assent of the people of the Territory to an alteration in the compact allowing a change in the boundaries of the three States first to be formed therein. After its passage a remonstrance, signed by seven members of the House, was entered on its journal. The chief objection of the signers was that the change proposed would retard the establishment of a State government in the Eastern division. Mr. Jefferson's party was coming into power and much desired the numerical strength sure to be derived from the admitted State. When the act was submitted to Congress for its sanction, the objections thereto were able to defeat its passage, and the compact remained in its original form.

Some of the members of this Assembly had incurred the displeasure of certain citizens of Chillicothe, owing to their outspoken objections to the act of Congress making that town the territorial capital. Governor St. Clair did not escape, as he also was quite prominent in his denunciation of this assumption of authority, as he termed it. In fact, the Governor was always sensitive, too much so oftentimes, on any infringement of his own or of the Assembly's rights. The feeling against these expressions led to two small riots at night, directed especially against those members most prominent in the expression of their opinions, one of whom was obliged to defend himself with a brace of pistols. The citizens of Chillicothe took no notice of these attacks, and as the members of the Assembly were powerless to punish the offenders, no difficulty was experienced in securing the passage of an act removing the seat of government back to Cincinnati. The

session closed January 23, 1802, to meet in Cincinnati on the fourth Monday of November following.

During the ensuing spring and summer, the promoters of a State government were able to carry their plans through Congress. Governor St. Clair incurred the enmity of the administration by his opposition to the measure, and was finally removed by President Jefferson. In February, 1802, a petition was presented in Congress asking for the admission of the State. Though the compact required sixty thousand inhabitants, yet the feeling was so strongly in favor of the move that, though but forty-five thousand three hundred and sixty-five could be enumerated, the measure prevailed. April 30 an act to admit the State, under certain conditions, passed, and a convention to adopt a Constitution was authorized to meet the following November. Many of the members elected to this convention were also representatives, and when the time came for the Assembly to meet no action was taken. The Territorial government was thus quietly merged into the State government, whose Assembly superseded that of the territory, and whose formation and migratory capitals form interesting chapters in our annals.

A. A. Graham.

PYRAMIDS AND BURIED CITIES IN THE LAND OF THE MONTEZUMAS.[1]

BURIED deep in the wildernesses of Mexico and Central America, innumerable ruined cities await in silence the coming of the explorer — deserted temples and crumbling pyramids, builded so far back in the twilight of time that not a tradition remains of their founders. In Yucatan alone no less than sixty-seven prehistoric cities have been discovered, despite the fact that this wildest territory of Mexico presents almost insurmountable obstacles to the traveler, in the way of warlike savages and trackless deserts whose hot sands out-rival Sahara. Even the all-conquering Spaniards never succeeded in making much impression upon the Mayas of Yucatan, and to this day there are aboriginal tribes in the interior still flourishing as before the conquest, but so powerful and bloodthirsty are they that no venturesome European has returned from their domain to tell the story.

The first to throw any light upon the ruins of Mexico was Baron Alexander von Humboldt. He went to that wonderful country when full of the enthusiasm of youth, and to him we are indebted for information concerning the buried city called San Juan Teotihuacan, with its pyramids and "path of the dead"; of Oxichalco, the mountain hewed down with terraces, and named "The Hill of Flowers"; and of the great pyramids of Cholula and Papantla. But of a hundred prehistoric cities and pyramids beyond the valley of Mexico — hidden in pathless forests and untrodden deserts, ruined, desolate and nameless — Humboldt never heard.

Now that the dangers and difficulties of travel in that

[1] Abstract of a paper read for the author by Secretary Graham at the first annual meeting of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, February 19th, 1886.

still comparatively unknown country are somewhat lessened by the few railroad lines that have rendered accessible the civilized portions, there has been more foreign travel in the land of the Montezumas within the last five years than during the preceding five hundred.

The ignorance and indifference of Hispano-Americans on the archæology of their country surpasses belief, even taking into account the natural indolence of Southern races and the fact that during the last few centuries their energies have been chiefly expended in uprisings against the ever-changing government. But since Stevens, M. Chraney, Dr. Lee Plonshon and others have made important discoveries, the "Sister Republic" has awakened to a lazy consciousness of valuable possessions; but with a malicious spirit has enacted rigorous laws against the exportation of relics, which would enrich the museums of the world, yet in which they, themselves, are not sufficiently interested to bring them to light.

If the traveler enters Mexico from the north, by either the Mexican National or Mexican Central railroad, he should stop at that quaint old mountain capital, Zacatecas, a populous city in the heart of the Sierra Madras, lying nearly 9,000 feet above the level of the gulf. Here manners and customs that prevailed before the Pilgrim Fathers sought our shores are still preserved intact, though the proud and wealthy city rejoices in street cars, telephones, electric lights, and other "modern improvements." Being here, the tourist must by no means neglect a pilgrimage to La Quemada — some curious ruins about thirty miles to the westward.

The rocky eminence near the Indian village of La Quemada, upon which the ruins lie, is called El Cerro de los Edificios — "The Hill of Edifices." Like another Acropolis, it rises abruptly from barren plains, its summit being reached by an ancient causeway, guarded by bastions and a double wall. The entire mountain is covered thickly with ruins, but chiefly on the southern side may be traced

the remains of magnificent temples, pyramids, altars and edifices of sacrifice, all cut from the solid basalt, and rising in the highest part hundreds of feet above the surrounding country. The rock-built walls were formerly joined by mortar, but the stones — many of which are more than twenty feet thick, and of corresponding height — are held in place mainly by their own massiveness.

Several wide parapets and raised terraces, covered with gigantic pillars, still remain, and various quadrangular spaces, surrounded by almost perfect walls. There are ruined temples and palaces of vast proportions. The steepest side of the wall is twenty-one feet high, and the width of its summit — which is level with an extensive platform — is exactly the same. It is a double wall; one, ten feet thick, evidently having been first constructed and covered with smooth cement, after which the second wall was built against it. Its platform, which faces the south, is nearly one hundred feet square; and on its northern center stands the remains of a circular building; while the middle of the quadrangle is occupied by a mound of stones, doubtless an altar. Not far beyond, is an enormous square or court. This space is surrounded on three sides by an elevated terrace, having steps in the center of each side by which to descend to the square. Each terrace is backed by a wall, twenty by nine feet. From the east an entrance, thirty feet wide, communicates with this court. On the south are two openings scarcely smaller, while on the west is only one narrow doorway, leading to an artificial cave or dungeon. On the north the square is bounded by the steep mountain, and in the center of that side stands a pyramid with seven distinct ledges. Immediately behind this pyramid, and all in that portion which presents itself to the square, are numerous tiers of seats, either scooped out of the rocks or built up of rough stones. In the center of the square, due south of the pyramid, is a small quadrangular pile of stones, about five feet high and seven feet wide at the summit. Unques-

tionably it was an altar, and from the whole character of the place in which it stands, the peculiar form of the pyramid, the surrounding terrace and the seats on the mountain side, there can be no doubt that this was once a grand hall of assembly and of sacrifice. Not one of our guides or servants could be induced to enter the cave, about which many superstitious stories are believed. We could see that it had a narrow, well built entrance, showing in many places the remains of smooth plastering. It is said to be very deep, and may have been the place of confinement for victims of the sacrifice. Close by is a sheer cliff, one hundred and fifty feet high. A carefully built causeway terminates exactly beneath the cave and overhanging cliff; and conjecture can form no other idea of its utility than as being in some manner connected with the purposes of the dungeon.

Though scientists have long puzzled over the origin of this immense collection of ruins, it remains to this day an open question by what people they were builded. Not a trace of the ancient name of the city, nor that of the nation who inhabited it centuries ago, is anywhere to be found. The only ray of light thrown upon the subject is the opinion of the eminent Abbe Clavigero, and that is speculation only. In his history of Mexico the Abbe says: "The situation of Chicomoztoe, where the Mexicans sojourned nine years, is not known; but it appears to be that place thirty miles from Zacatecas, where are still ruins of stupendous edifices, which, according to tradition, was the work of the early Aztecs in their migration. It can not be ascribed to any other known people, for the native Zacatecanos were so barbarous as neither to live in houses nor know how to build them."

The Aztecs arrived in the valley of Mexico soon after the disappearance of the Toltecs, about the year 1240, and the theory is that during the long years of wandering between their unknown birth-place, which they called "Azatlan," and their final settlement, Central Mexico,

some of the tribes may have tarried here and built this city.

Should the traveler go to Mexico in the old fashion, by way of the Gulf, he will land at Vera Cruz. From that city to Jalapa, over the longest tramway line in America — more than eighty miles — the journey is delightful. It is made in one day, the four mules attached to each car being frequently changed and constantly urged to the top of their speed by the driver's whip.

Jalapa was an old and populous Aztec city when Cortez and his adventurous crew first climbed the heights that encircle the valley of Mexico. The conquerors called it "The Land of Roses," and from the ancient town that valuable plant known to *materia medica* as jalap takes its name, being found in great abundance upon all the adjacent mountains. It is an ideal city — the city of a dream. All its ancient churches and monasteries and pink-tinted adobe cottages — many of them two or three centuries old — are embowered in vines and roses, surrounded by orange groves and coffee plantations, and its fields are hedged with bananas, olives, pine-apples and cocoa-palms. Though so far in the tropics, its altitude precludes excessive heat and secures immunity from yellow jack and *vomito*, those deadly scourges of the lowlands, while all the year is one long and lazy summer-time, tempered by gentle breezes blowing over the Gulf. The natives believe that right here was located the veritable Garden of Eden.

From Jalapa to the far-famed pyramid of Papantla is a distance of about fifty miles, due northward. Diligences run as far as Tusintlan, and thence one must proceed on horseback through the almost impenetrable forest.

The pyramid of Papantla is not built of brick, or of clay mixed with whinstones, as are most of those in Mexico, but of immense blocks of porphyry, in the seams of which mortar may still be distinguished. The base of the pyramid is an exact square, each side eighty-two feet long, with a perpendicular height of sixty feet. Like all Mexican *teocallis*, or places of human sacrifice, it is com-

posed of successive stages, a great stairway leading to the truncated summit.

Hieroglyphics and strange figures, serpents, frogs and crocodiles, are carved in relief on the faced stones of each story, while the square niches in every terrace, three hundred and sixty-six in number, have given rise to a conjecture that they may have had some connection with the ancient Toltec calendar. The twelve additional niches that appear in the stair toward the East perhaps stood for the twelve "useless" days at the end of their cycle.

This edifice is remarkable, not so much for its size as for perfect symmetry, the polish of its stones, and the regularity of their cut. In his work on "New Spain," Humboldt refers to the analogy of the brick monuments of Mexico to the temple of Belus at Babylon, and the pyramids near Sakhara, in Egypt. "There are in Mexico pyramids of several stages, in the forests of Papantla at a small elevation above the sea, and in the plains of Cholula and Teotihuacan at elevations surpassing those of our passes in the Alps. We are astonished to see in regions most remote from one another, and under climates of the greatest diversity, man following the same model in his edifices, his ornaments, his habits, and even in the form of his political institutions."

For centuries after the Spaniards had possessed themselves of Mexico, the Indians jealously concealed from them all knowledge of these monuments, and this of Papantla was accidentally discovered by a party of hunters as late as 1870.

Remains of idol-worship are scattered for miles in every direction, showing a great diversity of deities, but whether all were worshipped at once by one people, or by different tribes in succeeding generations, none can tell. Ask any of the natives "Who made this monument?" and the invariable answer is a dull "Quien sabe — who knows?"

Within an hour's railroad ride from the City of Mexico is San Juan Teotihuacan — one of the most interesting

places in the world to antiquarians, historians and curiosity-hunters. It is the site of a buried city, twenty miles square, whose foundations were laid so long in the past that no records remain of it. We only know that it was of pre-Toltec origin, and that the Toltecs disappeared from the Valley of Mexico before the arrival of the Aztecs.

According to Prescott, who closely follows the native historian, Clavigero, the Toltecs arrived here in the year 648, and after four centuries vanished as mysteriously as they came. They fixed their capital at Tula, a point about as far north from the City of Mexico as Teotihuacan is south; and in some subsequent migration they found here a city and took possession, but whether by conquest, or finding it deserted by the original inhabitants, there are no means of knowing. Shadowy accounts, savoring more of legend than history, tell of the disruption of the Toltecs and their final dispersion from Tula. This was long after their great hero, Quetzalcoatl, since deified as the "Plumed Serpent," or "God of the Air," had developed among them a civilization remarkable for that period, and had deserted them at the bidding of the jealous god, Tezcatlipoca, first to reign at Cholula, and then in an unknown kingdom east of Yucatan. The Indian historian, Ixthlxochill, affirms that the Toltecs were ruined all on account of a woman. He states that seeds of disturbance were sown in the hitherto peaceful kingdom of Tollan through the illicit love of the then reigning monarch, Topiltzin, for the beautiful daughter of one of his nobles. Possessing himself of the maiden by force and fraud, the punishment came speedily, and when the natural son of this monarch and maiden ascended to the throne, the nation was scattered. Most of them wandered southward, and finding at Teotihuacan some artificial pyramids already constructed, determined to make them the nucleus of a second sacred city. No more trace is left of the original name of those pyramids than of the forgotten people who gave it.

The Toltecs called the place Teotihuacan, which signifies "The Habitation of the Gods." Here for many years their kings came to be crowned; here dwelt their priests, and in spacious chambers within the smaller pyramids their dead were buried.

The two principal pyramids were called Tonathiu Itzacual, "House of the Sun," and Meztli, "The House of the Moon." The former is nearly two hundred feet high, with a base of seven hundred feet. The platform on its summit is about seventy-five feet square, and its exact center is marked by a modern monument of stone.

The pyramid of the moon — one hundred yards distant, has a height of one hundred and thirty-seven and a base measurement four hundred and twenty-six by five hundred and eleven feet. Each pyramid was once crowned by a temple, said to have contained stone idols wearing golden breast plates; and we are told that outside the edifice on the summit of Tonathiu Itzacual once stood a colossal figure of its presiding deity, covered with burnished gold, which glowed so brightly in the sunlight as to guide worshippers on their way to this ancient Mecca.

Both pyramids are composed of stones, cement and pottery, but time has so softened their outlines that to-day they hardly appear more sharply defined than an ordinary steep-sided hill. Three terraces may still be distinctly traced around the pyramid of the sun, and two around that of the moon. One can ascend to the summit of either by a winding pathway, starting from the southern base. Neither pyramid now contains any vestige of statue or temple; but a little to the left of the greater mound may be found an immense idol, supposed to have formerly graced the summit.

M. Charney, the French explorer, disentombed it not long ago from a mighty pile of debris, in which it was perhaps hidden by the terrified Toltecs at their final overthrow. The statue is of solid stone, about ten feet high, and eight feet through the head. Its face is not that of a

monster, like the gods of the Aztecs, but differs as much from them in its benign expression as the pastoral people, who worshipped it, differed from their fierce successors. The eyes are as large as a barrel-head, nose flat, ears like two enormous buckwheat cakes and ludicrously flanged, mouth in the exact shape of a watermelon and half open, while in his breast a square orifice is hollowed out, into which a man might put his head. The whole is cut from a single block of trachyte, and no savant is wise enough to tell how those early Mexicans managed to carve it from the solid rock with their primitive tools. In the mountain of rubbish, beneath which the god was buried, we found great quantities of obsidian or itztli. This natural glass, melted thousands of years ago in the furnaces of Orizaba and Popocatapetl, was used by the ancients for their implements and weapons. Prescott says: "They wielded the terrible maynahuitl, with its sharp and brittle blades of obsidian;" and "warriors, whose spears and bludgeons, armed with blades of volcanic glass, gleamed in the morning light."

The pyramid of the moon is believed to have been a place of sacrifice, and its interior a sepulchre. About two hundred yards away lies a great carved block called the "Sacrificial Stone," which is said to have been overthrown by order of the Spanish Bishop, Zumarraga, whose vandal hands destroyed more treasures of antiquity than his bigoted head was worth. In the western side of the smaller pyramid is an opening, supposed by many to lead to hitherto unexplored treasure-vaults. The eminent author, Fred Ober, crept into this narrow passage, about thirty feet down an incline, and had the satisfaction of reaching only a deep *pozo*, or well. Farther than this no one has yet penetrated. The walls of both passage and well are beautifully cut and perfectly smooth. It is conjectured that the pyramid of the sun has a similar opening, as yet unknown because hidden by the accumulated debris of centuries; it is believed that when this is found a larger cham-

ber will be discovered than that within the other pyramid, owing to its greater length of base, approximating nearly to that of Cheops.

There are many smaller mounds and pyramidal elevations, surrounding the larger ones and lining a broad roadway called Micoatli, the "Path of the Dead." Most of the tunnels are about 25 feet high, ranged regularly along both sides of the wonderful avenue. Their long-dead builders dedicated them to the stars, and used them as places of burial. Signor Cubas, the Mexican archæologist, asserts that human bones have been taken from many of these tunnels; and it is not improbable that most of the clay heads which are found scattered so profusely all over the plain may be the effigies of buried priests and rulers. In his study of the place, Cubas likens the little river of Teotihuacan to the Nile, and sees a second Memphis — in short, finds here a perfect duplication of the pyramids of Egypt.

From these premises he argues that the people who constructed the American monuments either must have come directly from Egypt, or at least were descendants of others to whom the Egyptians had transmitted knowledge. Many of these effigies are perfectly Egyptian in features, style and expression, while others are as plainly negro. All are without bodies, and no two have ever been found precisely alike—which seems to substantiate the theory that they were designed as the likeness of priests or prominent people. So abundant are they, and, happily, the place is so far removed from the route of the average tourist, that one can scarcely walk over these fields without treading on them. A recent traveler writes: "Our energies were taxed to the utmost to keep away the horde of ragged juveniles, who appeared with sacks full of clay heads, obsidian knives and other curious relics which they insisted upon our buying. Others have wondered, as we wonder to-day, at the unlimited supply of these antiquities, as the fields are actually full of them."

The easiest way to explore Teotihuacan is to go out

from the City of Mexico early in the morning, by the Mexican Railway, (about thirty miles), returning to the Capital at evening, and repeating the process as many times as may be desired. Whenever an excavation is made anywhere within a radius of many miles, smooth sheets of well preserved plaster or cement are discovered, from two to six feet below the surface. These are doubtless the fallen walls of the Sacred City that once surrounded the pyramids.

From the summit of either pyramid a superb view is obtained of many surrounding villages, the white towers of the City of Mexico shining in the distance, and the environing mountains beyond, which upon all sides shut in the cup-like valley of Anahuac. An old Spanish pamphlet gives a very full account of the mythology pertaining to the spot. The author of the pamphlet (Clavigero) gives as his authority an Indian historian whose data were principally compiled from the picture-writings of the ancients on woven fibres of the century plant. The plain of Teotihuacan appears to have been a favorite tramping ground for mythological spooks, and hundreds of traditions concerning the antics of the gods are treated here. Such important events as the regeneration of the human race, and the reconstruction of the sun and moon, occurred in this place. The story is of a god and goddess who presided over new-born infants and granted the prayers of mortals. The goddess, whose name was Omecihuatl, after having borne many children in heaven, brought forth one day a knife of flint, which her enraged husband immediately flung to earth—when lo! from its fragments sprang sixteen hundred heroes! At once this numerous brood began clamoring for power, and petitioned their mother to create for them a race of mortals whom they might utilize as servants. At first Omecihuatl declined having anything to do with such a singular progeny; but at length she became weary of their prayers and had them go to the god of Hades, and, in her name, request the loan of a bone

from one of the mortals who had perished in the universal destruction. This bone she ordered them to sprinkle with their blood, whereupon she promised a human pair should spring from it who would regenerate the species. One of the heroes, Xolotl, departed on the dangerous errand, and obtained what he desired from the dreaded deity of Sheol. But fearing that his Satanic majesty might repent the gift, he hastened toward earth so precipitately that he fell and broke the bone. Nevertheless, he brought the precious fragments to his brothers, who placed them in a vessel and sprinkled them with blood drawn from their veins. On the fourth day thereafter a boy appeared, and three days later a girl was formed. Xolotl constituted himself the guardian of these miraculous children, and reared them on the milk of thistle, and through them eventually the world was repeopled by mortals.

Then followed the marvelous creation of the sun and the moon. On the plain which had been the scene of these wonderful events, the descendants of the miraculous pair whom Xolotl reared, consecrated temples to the sun, the moon and the stars, and doubtless the pyramids of San Juan Teotihuacan were shrines and altars to their worship. In the principal temple on the great pyramid of the sun, four priests dwelt continually who were remarkable for the virtue and austerity of their lives. Their dress was of the poorest stuffs, and their food was confined to one loaf of maize weighing two ounces, with a single cup of gruel made from the same grain. Every night two of these devotees kept watch, singing hymns to the gods, offering incense and shedding their own blood upon the stones of the temple by piercing their flesh with thorns. These vigils and fastings were continued four years. At the end of that time they retired from the temple and their places were supplied by four others, who endured the same sufferings, and in honor thereof—if they survived them—received the homage of the people and the respect of their sovereign. High as was the recompense of their

virtues, the punishment for vice and violation of chastity was correspondingly severe. If the crime was proved, the culprit was beaten to death with rods, his body burned, and the ashes scattered to the winds.

Concerning the final destruction of the ancient Empire, the historian relates that the gods were very angry with the Toltecs, and, to avert their wrath, a meeting of all the wise men, priests and nobles was held at the holy city, Teotihuacan, where from most ancient times the deities had been wont to listen to the prayers of men. In the midst of their feasts and sacrifices an enormous demon, with long arms and bony fingers, appeared dancing in the court, where the people were assembled. Whirling through the crowd in every direction, he seized upon those that came in his way and dashed them at his feet, and informed the terror-stricken Toltecs that their fate as a nation was sealed, and that the remnant could escape destruction only by flight.

Did time permit, we might speak of Tula, one of the most ancient of still populated cities, settled A. D. 700, with its wonderful sculptures, and the "Hill of Shouting," from whence the laws of the Toltecs were promulgated; of the sacred city Cholula, the "Rome of Anahuac," with its pyramid equal in size to Cheops, supposed to have been built by Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent;" and of the "Hill of the Stars," out toward the Floating Gardens, near the City of Mexico, where the Aztecs paraded in solemn procession at the end of each cycle of fifty years, and upon its now ruined altar, sacrificed a beautiful female that the sun might be induced to continue his course, and save the world from endless night.

No land is so rich in archæology as that lying at our doors. There is no need to cross the oceans and search the so-called older world; greater marvels await the antiquarian upon our own continent.

FANNIE B. WARD.

THE HISTORY AND PROSPECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

ANNUAL ADDRESS BEFORE THE OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 23, 1887. F. C. SESSIONS, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

THE Ohio Archæological and Historical Society now closes its second year, and begins its third. May it not be profitable to take in retrospect a view of what has been done, and in prospect of what may be done?

The Society owes its origin to the impulse given to historical study by the great American Exposition of 1876. No event in the century has so stimulated the study and the preservation of American history, not only of prehistoric times and pre-American times, but of our century. That event called from every class the history of its rise and progress, and showed fully its development.

It was there demonstrated that Ohio—the oldest State in the Northwest Territory, and the first-born State of the Union—had a history in antiquities, in its origin, settlement, progress and development unequalled by any other State. With a meager appropriation, the finest historical exhibit outside of the Smithsonian Institution, was made by Ohio, and under the direction and control of the Ohio Archæological Society. In the prosecution of this work appear the names of Hon. R. B. Hayes, Dr. N. S. Townshend, General R. Brinkerhoff, Professor M. C. Read, Professor Charles Whittlesey, John H. Klippert, Esq., Judge Charles C. Baldwin; and others equally active, are conspicuously prominent. Each worked zealously in this movement, and each hoped to see a permanent society founded on an established basis.

There was, however, no provision made for such an organization by the employment of a suitable person to

devote his time to the work, and no one could be found whose occupation would permit the necessary attention, and the Society gradually became inoperative.

There were, however, friends of the movement who did not wholly abandon hope, nor entirely cease their efforts. They were in constant correspondence, and often consulted "one with another" concerning the desirability and usefulness of such a Society.

Finally, on the evening of February 12, 1885, a number of gentlemen met in the Secretary of State's office to consider the advisability of calling a meeting to organize a Society. After a full discussion of the matter, it was agreed to call a public meeting of all those interested in preserving our history. The present Secretary of the Society was one of the principal promoters of the object, and was instructed to formulate a circular and send the same to all who might care to encourage the effort. The responses to the circulars were numerous and gratifying. The circular embodying the objects of the call was sent to all the papers in Ohio. Its publication was very general, showing the interest taken in the subject. It was followed by a circular enlisting the educational element of the State. The circulars called attention to the approaching centennials of our organic law — the Ordinance of 1787 — and of the first American settlement made under its wise provisions. The suggestion looking to a general celebration in all the public schools on this anniversary day — April 7, 1888 — as well as to a grand celebration at Marietta, and of an exposition of the educational and industrial progress in Ohio during its first century, to be held in its Capital City in the autumn, all these matters elicited general and marked interest.

Those who are present will remember the interesting meetings held in this chamber on the evenings of March 12 and 13, 1885, at which time the present Society was organized.

The plan of the Society, briefly stated, is to encourage

the study and preservation of our antiquities and our history, and to provide for the preservation of valuable articles connected therewith. The objects of the Society are well expressed in the articles of incorporation, Section 3 of which reads as follows:

"Said Society is formed for the purpose of promoting the knowledge of archæology and history, especially of Ohio, by establishing and maintaining a library of books, manuscripts, maps, charts, etc., properly pertaining thereto; a museum of pre-historic relics and natural or other curiosities or specimens of art or nature promotive of the objects of the Association, said library and museum to be open to the public on reasonable terms, and by courses of lectures and publication of books, papers and documents touching the subjects so specified, with power to receive and hold gifts and devices of real and personal estate for the benefit of such Society, and generally to exercise all the powers legally and properly pertaining thereto."

The report of the Secretary for the first year showed a membership of 239 persons; and a museum of over four thousand specimens; besides many valuable paintings, books, papers, periodicals, etc., for its library. During the first year, in addition to the addresses delivered at the meetings of organization, there were held in Columbus, six meetings, at each of which excellent papers were read. During the same year meetings were held at Mansfield and Hamilton, while the Secretary delivered a number of addresses in various parts of the State in the interest and on the part of the Society. You will all remember the last annual meeting, which was marked by an increasing interest, and by its timely addresses. The course of lectures of each year is arranged to open in September or October, and close in March or April. During this year's course the following addresses have been given at regular meetings in this city.

In November, Mr. E. O. Randall, of Columbus, presented an exhaustive paper on "Blennerhassett," giving a full

and interesting account of the island by that name, and of the personages and events connected therewith.

In December, Professor B. A. Hinsdale, of Cleveland, presented an excellent paper before the Society on the subject "The First Circumnavigation of the Earth."

In January, General E. B. Finley, of Bucyrus, read an interesting paper on "The Drift," and in February, George G. Washburn, Esq., of Elyria, delivered an exceedingly instructive address before the Society on "Mountains, Volcanoes and Earthquakes."

Reviewing the subjects presented before the Society, it may be asked, what part these scientific lectures bear to a Society whose name and object implies a study of Archæology and History. To this it may be answered that in the organization of the Society, serious consideration was given to the proposal to adopt a scientific title. To this it was objected that the name would be needlessly lengthened and that the same object could be secured by devoting a portion of each year's course to scientific subjects. With this understanding the present name was adopted, which, I venture to suggest, is now rather cumbersome, and might be abbreviated by calling the Society simply "The Ohio Historical Society," this name embodies all that the present name implies, and is much more easily remembered.

Stopping only to mention this point, allow me to express some views on the future work of the Society.

The Secretary's report shows that to date 290 persons have joined the Society; of this number five have died, leaving 285 names on the roll. It is safe to assume that this number can not only be maintained, but, in event of certain conditions I will mention later, materially increased. The experience of all societies of this class shows a slow growth in their earlier stages. But, in every case, the growth, where nurtured, has been constant.

The chief aim of all historical societies is to preserve history, not only in written records, but in printed forms

available to all; and also preserve all articles illustrating history. This leads me to speak of our publication.

When the Society was organized, a regular publication in some form was determined upon. Just what form it should take was left to the future to decide. During the last year the Secretary made diligent inquiry among all similar organizations concerning their publications and their experience in their issue. The result showed the most satisfactory to be one issued at regular intervals during the year—say quarterly or monthly. Such an issue not only records the transactions of the Society, as would an annual, but it admits of special departments, such as "Notes and Queries," "Original Communications," "Reprints of old Documents," and such articles as may be offered to, and accepted by the Board of Editors. Thus it becomes a medium coming at intervals sufficiently often and regular to enlist the interest of all who receive it and of many who see it. The expenses of such a publication are but little, or no more than an annual volume; and it is the experience of all who have tried both forms that it is more useful and more preferable than any other form of publication.

Aside from the preservation and dissemination of knowledge by means of printed matter, the object of the Society is to preserve articles illustrative of history. This implies the founding of a museum of antiquities. This, to the eye, is as instructive as the printed page, and, like all objects of illustration, is a matter of great and important interest. The report of the Secretary shows a museum already established of several thousand specimens, and the correspondence shows a desire on the part of Ohio people everywhere to contribute to such a museum, if they can be assured of a safe receptacle for their donations and a judicious use of them for the public good. Investigation has shown that Ohio is the richest field in America in material for such a museum. For the lack of one, enough has already left the State for other museums to have formed

one of the finest collections in America. Enough is yet remaining to still keep the position of Ohio first, if it is gathered and safely stored. It therefore behooves us to consider this part of our work carefully and direct our energies to the accomplishment of this result. A few years of judicious effort will place in our Capital City one of the finest museums of historic articles in America. This would be not only an ornament and an attraction of unequalled merit, but an institution educational and beneficial in character.

The question of preserving in such a museum our rich archæological and historical collection is not only feasible, but we have daily assurances that such an institution will in time be the custodian of all such collections, whose owners will eventually desire to see them in such a place. Here also could be gathered and stored casts of our noted earthworks, for which Ohio is so famous, and I am pleased to state that to devise some method for their preservation, is now the work of a committee appointed at our last annual meeting, and who will report its progress at this session.

When the Society was organized, the question of a celebration in the common schools, commemorative of the settlement of Ohio, was suggested. Professor John B. Peaslee, then Superintendent of the Cincinnati public schools, suggested a plan somewhat similar to "Arbor Day" celebrations, as they are known. The suggestion was timely, and at the request of the Society, Prof. Peaslee agreed to prepare a pamphlet collection of prose and poetical selections suitable for such a celebration. It is expected to have this pamphlet ready early next winter, and to introduce it into our schools, especially country schools, during the coming winter's session. The preparation necessary for such a celebration and its performance, will do a vast amount of good by inciting in the minds of the youth a desire for good and wholesome, as well as enticing reading. The Secretary has already performed a large amount

of work among the teachers and schools of Ohio, and reports a gratifying interest in these matters.

I should also, I think, refer to the contemplated Educational Exposition in connection with the annual meeting of the National Teachers' Association of the United States, which meets in July next. Ohio is, as she properly should, taking a leading part in this enterprise. Ohio is the first State in our Union to profit by the ordinance of May 20th, 1785, giving to the cause of education one-thirty-sixth of the public land for the support of common schools. Under the direction of our energetic State Superintendent of Instruction, Mr. LeRoy D. Brown, the best exhibits of Ohio's educational progress will be shown. I venture to suggest that a large part of the work done in this Exposition can be advantageously used in our Centennial Exposition in 1888, and when this material has done its work there, it can be secured for our State Museum.

Our Society should at all times endeavor diligently to instill into the minds of the youth of our State correct knowledge of what has transpired in our *past*, that they may not only be the more intelligently ready to act during the *present*, but be well prepared for the future.

It is proper to allude here to the growing interest in our approaching centennial. The interest in these events is national and the reasons therefor are apparent to every student of our history. It is so well expressed in an article prepared by our Secretary, that a quotation therefrom will be, I think, sufficient. The Secretary says: "The year 1888 marks the end of the first century since what is now Ohio was first permanently settled by Americans. This settlement was made at what is now Marietta, Ohio, and the celebration of this important event is one which we can loyally support. The settlement was the result of momentous questions, and, in itself, was one of the most important in America. It was the outgrowth of a desire by American people, first, to sell the public domain to actual settlers; second, to assure to everyone the rights of

persons, property and speech; third, to give to every inhabitant an opportunity to derive and to enjoy the benefits of an education, furnished by the people; fourth, that slavery, then in the ascendency in America, should not exist.

"A settlement made under such auspices could not but attract the best elements not only of the older States, but also from other countries. As a result Ohio of to-day contains a greater diversity of nationalities and a greater variety of industries than any State in the Union."

It is proposed to commemorate the Centennial at Marietta by a celebration that will properly represent the respect held now by us of the pioneers who laid the foundation of our present prosperity and our present position. A provisional program of exercises is already announced, and I am glad to see so many of Marietta's people represented in our Society, and present at our meetings. They, through their committees, will report matters in detail, and more fully inform us of their work and of their anticipations.

"It is proposed," also, says the Secretary, in the same article, "to gather at the end of the first century the outgrowth of a civilization planted under the foregoing mentioned causes, and note the results. It is a fitting time to celebrate the principles under which our State was organized. Ohio is the first state in the Union created out of territory belonging to the Union; hence Ohio is the first-born of the Union—the oldest child—the first to be formed by all the other States, and it is proper that she should show her gratitude by inviting all, and particularly the thirteen original States, to visit her and note the results of their action.

"The 67th General Assembly of Ohio passed an act authorizing an Ohio Centennial Exposition at the close of the first century since its soil was settled by Americans. The resolution providing for such an exposition states that 'The one hundredth anniversary of the settlement of the

State, now among the foremost in rank and importance in the Union, shall be celebrated in the year 1888, by the holding at the Capital of the State, of an Exposition demonstrating the material and educational progress of the State during its first century.'

"The proposed Exposition will be held in the early autumn of 1888, in the Capital of the State, on grounds belonging to the State, and controlled by the State Board of Agriculture. The Exposition will continue not less than four weeks, and its character will bear prominently in view the historical, the illustrative, the progressive and the educational features of the products of Ohio's first century. At this time, all Ohio people, wherever they may be, will be invited to visit the Buckeye State, and join with all her people and all her friends in her grand Exposition."

The opportunity to acquire a large amount of material for our museum, at the close of the Exposition, should not be lost. The experience of all Expositions has shown that a large amount of historical material accumulates at such times, and that it is usually given to that Society which is best prepared to receive and care for it.

Thus it will be seen that only well-directed, persistent effort is necessary to establish such a society as is contemplated in our articles of incorporation: a society that will be not only an ornament and an attraction, but will be one of marked usefulness and influence for all time to come. Practically, the way to do this is to secure and maintain an active membership numerically sufficient to meet current expenses, and to found an endowment fund sufficiently large to cover all general expenses. The way seems to be open; in truth the opportunity was never so good as now; and we trust such as are now connected with the Association will not only continue steadfastly therein, but will induce others to unite with us in this our commendable work.

I now declare the Second Annual Meeting of this Society open.

REPORT ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF MOUNDS AND EARTHWORKS OF OHIO.

HAVING been appointed by the Ohio Archæological and Historial Society Chairman of a Committee to consider the necessity and the means of preserving the prehistoric mounds and earthworks of Ohio, I arranged last summer to spend a week, in company with Judge C. C. Baldwin, of Cleveland, in making a tour of inspection which should enable us to supplement investigations, which we had previously made together, or singly, in the interests of the same subject. The following are the results of the investigations. We will take the southern portion of the State in order, beginning with Montgomery county, mentioning, however, only the more important works:

The largest mound of the State is found at Miamisburg, on the high lands to the southeast of the town. This mound is sixty-eight feet in height, and is still well preserved; and, being near a railroad station, can be easily visited. McLean estimates that it contains over 300,000 cubic feet of a material. It is certainly worthy of perpetual preservation, and, being a single mound, the cost of purchase could not be great.

A few miles southwest, near Carlisle Station, situated partly in Montgomery county and partly in Warren county, upon a bluff where Twin Creek joins the valley of the Great Miami, is an important enclosure readily accessible to tourists, the wall of which is about 3,600 feet in length, and enclosing an area of about fifteen acres. This we did not visit, but Mr. McLean reports the southern half of the wall to be well preserved, but so covered with briers and underbrush as to be almost inaccessible, while the northern half of it is under cultivation, and will soon be entirely demolished.

Butler county is one of the most interesting localities for

the study of prehistoric earthworks. Mr. McLean estimates that there are 250 mounds and seventeen enclosures in the county. Of the enclosures, that known as "Fortified Hill," located in Ross township, section twelve, and less than two and a half miles from the Great Miami, is the most celebrated. The most recent account of this is given by Mr. McLean in the QUARTERLY, for June, 1887, p. 64. The enclosure has been described by nearly all the manuals treating of prehistoric earthworks in this country, and comprises about sixteen acres, situated upon a bluff about 250 feet above the river. Mr. McLean describes its present condition as deplorable, the northern half being under cultivation, and "the wall for the most part is sadly damaged by the plow," while a crescent line of exterior embankment, and the walls enclosing the gateway are nearly obliterated.

The most important earthwork remaining in Hamilton county is to be found in the extreme southwestern portion of it, between the Miami and Ohio rivers. Here a rocky bluff 200 feet high protects on three sides a plateau containing about twelve acres, which is surrounded by a continuous wall, following the outline of the precipice. President Harrison, whose home was near the spot, regarded this ancient fortification as evincing extraordinary military skill. It is certainly one of the works that should be preserved for all time.

Perhaps the most extensive and interesting of all the earthworks to be found in the State, or indeed in the United States, is Fort Ancient. This is situated in Warren connty, on the east bank of the Little Miami River, a few miles north of Morrow, and 33 from Cincinnati. The terrace upon which the enclosure is made is 230 feet above the river, and is composed largely of the compact glacial deposit, so characteristic of the greater portion of the State. The enclosed terrace is really a promontory containing about 150 acres, descending as steeply as the stiff soil will stand, both to the level of the Miami on the West and to

the valley of a tributary stream which rises near the head of the fortification and runs with many windings along the eastern side. Small tributary streams have also worn gullies down from this terrace on each side. The walls of the enclosure follow the windings of the natural embankments, making a very tortuous line, forming re-entrant angles at the head of every tributary gully, and running out nearly to the extreme point of every projection between adjacent gullies. The whole length of the surrounding embankment is about five miles, and every where the outer side of the embankment coincides with the extreme edge of the promontory. The artificial embankment is pierced by more than seventy gateways, and varies from nine to twenty feet in height, and is estimated by Mr. Locke to contain 628,800 cubic yards of material. Large trees are growing upon the works, and there are other indications of great age. In the words of Squier and Davis, "In every point of view, it is certainly one of the most interesting remains of antiquity which the continent affords." To preserve this monument for all time, and to set it apart as a public park for the benefit of our citizens and as an attraction to visitors from all the world, would be a most appropriate thing for the State to do this centennial year. The expenditure of a few thousand dollars for its purchase and protection would be but a fitting recognition of the interest already shown by parties outside the State in the purchase of the serpent mound, and its presentation to the use of the public free of expense. The need of prompt action in this as in other cases arises from the fact that at various points the rains are beginning the work of destruction which will go on at increased speed as the forests are removed.

Going upon the Eastern railroad from Cincinnati to Peebles Station in Adams county, we are within a few miles of the Serpent Mound, in Franklin township, in the extreme northern part of the county. The farm upon which this mound is situated has been purchased recently

by the ladies of Boston, and presented to the Peabody Archæological Museum, of Cambridge, Mass., for perpetual preservation. Altogether, between five and six thousand dollars have been raised for the purchase and restoration of this mound, and it is now thrown open free of cost to the general public.

About eight miles north of the Serpent Mound, in the southeastern part of Highland county, is Fort Hill, described (from a new survey secured by Judge Baldwin and myself) by H. W. Overman in the December number of our QUARTERLY. This is one of the most remarkable and best preserved of all the fortified works in the State. The embankment is more than a mile and a half in length, and contains upwards of 50,000 cubic yards of material, enclosing an area of thirty-five acres. This is situated on the summit of a hill left by the eroding agencies of many thousands of years, and is one of the highest points in the State. The work is well worthy of preservation, and as the land is not specially valuable, could doubtless be obtained for a reasonable sum.

Circleville, in Pickaway county, as its name indicates, was once a most interesting center of enclosures and earthworks, but they have long since been obliterated to make way for the streets of the city.

The earthworks in the fertile valley of Paint Creek, in Ross county, have been for so long a time under cultivation that all of them are sadly defaced, and some of them entirely obliterated. The elaborate works four miles above Bourneville we did not visit, but the large circle about a mile below Bourneville on the farm of Mr. Grimes, as well as the irregular shaped enclosure a mile and a half to the southeast, we found to be under cultivation and rapidly disappearing. The extensive Fortified Hill east of Bourneville was also so far obliterated that we could scarcely find any traces of it.

Chillicothe, in the same county, is one of the most remarkable centers of ancient civilization. A few miles to

the southeast, in the valley of the Scioto, and near the railroad, are the High Bank works, so called because they are on the upper glacial terrace, fifty or sixty feet above the flood plain of the river. These works consist of an octagon and a circle touching each other and include about forty acres. The farmers are diligently cultivating the land, and before long the whole works will be leveled to the ground. A few miles farther on, in Liberty township, there are other works of similar character, which we did not see, but we visited the numerous enclosures five miles north of Chillicothe, near Hopeton. The two larger of the enclosures at that point are about the dimensions of the High Bank works, and are going to ruin in much the same way. Across the river is an enclosure with so many mounds in it that it is well called Mound City, and large mounds are frequent over the wide terrace extending north of Chillicothe, on the west bank of the Scioto. Land in that vicinity is worth about one hundred dollars per acre. Still it is not too much to hope that some one representative work might be preserved at that center.

At Piketon, in Pike county, is the celebrated Graded Way, now utilized as a road, and leading up from the lower bottoms of the Scioto to the second terrace, about thirty feet above. This gives one a most impressive sense of ancient industry. To make the Way, dirt was thrown up on either side, forming parallel ridges about twenty-five feet high; the ascent is regular, and the ridge on the west side, being overgrown with large trees, is well preserved. The upper terrace, to which this leads, was formerly dotted with mounds, but now only a few remain. What could have been the object of the graded way it is difficult to conjecture. The eastern embankment of the parallel is rapidly undergoing destruction at the hands of the plow, the harrow, and the hoe, and could be preserved for a very small sum. The purchase of two or three acres would in this case be sufficient for its preservation.

In Scioto county the works at Portsmouth are nearly ob-

literated, a few remains being preserved within the limits of the city. There is nothing to be done here except what the corporation itself may do. The same may be said of the system of earthworks in Marietta, Washington county. The city could in no way more fittingly celebrate this centennial year than by restoring the "Sacred Way" (sold by their Board of Aldermen some years ago to a brickmaker) and providing for the permanent protection and care of what still remains of the former glory of these extensive and remarkable prehistoric works.

At Newark, Licking county, the great circle occupied by the fair ground is well preserved, though the extensive system of the connected outworks was destroyed long ago. Near Granville, also, the Alligator Mound is still in pretty good condition. But one of the most vivid things in my memory is the picture of the sheep, cattle and horses which I saw stamping flies under the shade cast by a solitary tree upon the Alligator Mound. Their busy hoofs will not long suffer any remnant of it to continue visible.

From this rapid survey of the situation it is evidently important to have the attention of the State turned as soon as possible to devising some practical measures for the preservation of this class of works within its borders. The whole task is too great for private benevolence, and it would seem a work eminently fitting for the State itself to undertake, for the public good of her own citizens, even if the more remote results of preserving historic monuments for the benefit of future historical students are not deemed of first importance. As a means of education, and as affording the citizens attractive objects to visit by way of recreation, these relics of ancient civilization are worth, or might easily be made worth, many times the cost to the State of their purchase and preservation as public parks. Nor would the cost be excessive. Much of the land on which they stand is comparatively worthless, and the timber growing on it would in the end more than meet the interest on the investment at the rate at which

the State can borrow money. The need of prompt action in the matter is evident from what has been said about the agencies now at work for their destruction.

For the benefit of such as may wish to spend a little time inspecting these works for themselves, I subjoin a convenient itinerary.

The most feasible route by which to take in as many as possible of these works, in the shortest time, would be as follows: Go down the valley of the Great Miami from Dayton, taking in the mound at Miamisburg, the Fortified Hills near Carlisle and Hamilton, in Butler county, and that near North Bend, in Hamilton county. Then ascend the valley of the Little Miami to Fort Ancient, thirty-three miles from Cincinnati. Returning to Morrow, go eastward to Greenfield, and thence to Bainbridge, whence trips can be made south about twelve miles to Fort Hill, in Highland county, and the Serpent Mound, in Adams county; also down Paint creek to Bourneville. Thence going to Piketon, in Pike county, the Graded Way, and various other earthworks, are within easy reach. Thence ascending the Scioto to Chillicothe, the works in Liberty township, at High Bank, Hopeton and Cedar Bank, are within a few miles, as well as Mound City and various minor works. Thence going by the way of Columbus to Newark, its celebrated circular enclosure, as well as the Alligator Mound at Granville, are within easy reach. Thus, within a week's time, the tourist can take in all of the most important ancient earthworks in Ohio, and see more of antiquity than in any other portion of the continent in the same length of time. No citizen of our State should think of visiting the ancient monuments of the Old World until he has first learned what remains there are at home. And the State would render a great service to science, as well as to her own citizens, by placing within their reach a goodly number of the best preserved of these monuments, and putting them beyond danger of further destruction. We can raise wheat and corn; we can mine

coal from the hills, and we can smelt iron in our furnaces; but we can not make earthworks and give them the flavor of antiquity. To have them, we must preserve what are already in existence.

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

EARTHWORKS OF FRANKLIN COUNTY, OHIO.

EDITOR OF THE QUARTERLY:

SIR: The following completes the list of mounds, etc., that exist in Franklin county, and that are known to me and not mentioned in the "Bibliography of the Earthworks of Ohio."

I will here state that the first work described in that list as being in Franklin county, viz., "Embankment, etc.," is in Delaware county, and is also described under the head of Delaware county. I will also state that the second described work of Franklin county, "Anc. Mon., p. 84, Pl. xxxix, No. 3," is the same as the fourth work, viz., "Mound at Whittington. Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc., Vol. I., p. 174." It should read Worthington, not Whittington.

The only published descriptions of the work of the Mound Builders in this county that I can refer to is the History of Franklin and Pickaway counties, published by Williams Bros. in 1880. It is there stated that Charles Whittlesey describes in a Contribution to the Smithsonian Publications, Vol. III., ancient remains about three miles southwest of Columbus, on the Harrisburg pike. "There were here plainly visible, a few years ago, two almost exactly circular enclosures, one about 800 feet and the other about 500 feet in diameter. The walls were only slight elevations, and measured from the bottom of the ditch (which was in this case exterior) to the top of the embankment, the height was in no place over three feet."

Joseph Sullivant describes a small work at the mouth of a run which empties into the Olentangy a short distance above Worthington. "It is a low embankment in the form of an arc of a circle, and runs from that of the river bank to that of the creek. It is marked in the drawing as situated on the DeWolfe lot."

Upon the authority of Mr. Sullivant, it is also stated

there was a mound in Franklinton made of clay, and brick were made from it and used in the construction of the first court house in Franklinton; and that another mound stood upon the ground now covered by the penitentiary, and that at an early day he observed many small and irregular elevations and enclosures about Franklinton which are now entirely obliterated; parallel lines of embankment occurred in several places.

If any explanation of the following is needed, or if I can furnish any additional information to you, I will cheerfully do so. Yours truly,

PROSPER M. WETMORE.

No. 48 Monroe avenue, Columbus, O.

FRANKLIN COUNTY, OHIO.

HAMILTON TOWNSHIP.—There are three mounds on the land of M. Cloud, situated on the elevation overlooking the bottom lands of the Scioto and Gahanna rivers. The southern one is the largest; diameter at base one hundred feet, height fifteen feet. There is a graded roadway to the summit. The base has been cut into, on the south side, by a road. The other two are smaller. They are in a line north and south, and their bases are about two hundred feet apart. The trees on the south mound have been cleared; the other two are in the woods.

Another small mound upon the same man's land is located about one mile northeast from the three mounds last described. It is on high ground, on the east or left hand bank of the Gahanna river—fifty feet in diameter at base, ten feet high.

There are two mounds upon the farm of Thos. M. Clark, on the east or left side of the Gahanna river; largest, fifty feet in diameter at base, ten feet high; the other, thirty feet in diameter and eight feet high. They are in cleared ground.

There is a small conical mound on the farm of W. T.

Spangler, on an elevation or hill about one mile east of the Scioto; diameter of base thirty feet, height ten feet.

There is a mound on the farm of E. J. Young, about one mile northeast of Lockbourne, which I have never visited.

An "Ancient Fort," upon the farm of Hugh E. Jones, is put down in the atlas of Caldwell and Jones. The ground is under cultivation; and many years ago I visted the locality, but could discover no vestiges of it.

Mound on the farm of Robert Simpson, one mile northwest of last described one. I have not visited this mound.

Two mounds on the farm of John Shoaf, a few rods apart, on a line north and south. Ground under cultivation, and mounds nearly leveled.

Two mounds on the farm of A. O'Harra. The bases are about one hundred feet apart, in a line north and south. The south one was a conical mound, three hundred feet in diameter, and forty feet in height. It has been excavated, and a large portion of it removed to gravel pikes in the neighborhood. A road has been dug through the center, but it is five to eight feet above the original level of the mound. The other mound is an oblong one; shortest diameter at base one hundred and fifty feet, longest three hundred feet, height twenty feet.

Mound about eighty rods west of last described mounds, situated on the farm of W. N. Fisher. It has been under cultivation a long time, and is now about five feet high.

Mound on the farm of C. Lahman, about one mile north of the O'Harra mounds. Plowed over, and only a few feet high.

"Ancient Fort," on the farm of the Jos. Fisher heirs, is laid down in the Caldwell and Gould atlas. It was on high ground overlooking the Scioto, and under cultivation. Many years ago I visited the site, but could discover no remains of it.

There is in the Caldwell and Gould Atlas an "Ancient Fort," laid down on the farm of M. Fisher, Sr. It is about

one mile easterly from the O'Harra mounds. I have never visited the site.

There is a mound on Baker's Hill at the intersection of the Lockbourne and Groveport pikes. It is about seventy-five feet in diameter at the base, and fifteen feet in height.

MONTGOMERY TOWNSHIP.—Columbus is situated in this township, and most of the township is now included in the city. There is in the city a small conical mound upon the grounds of Peter Ambos. It is on high ground on the east bank of the Scioto. It is thirty feet in diameter at the base, and eight feet high.

There was, a few years ago, a small mound in the eastern part of the city. The extension of Town street has levelled it.

There is a mound on the farm of Origen Harris, about two miles southeast of Columbus. His farm-house is built on it. I have never visited the site.

There is a mound on the east side of Alum Creek, on the farm of George McAlta. It is seventy-five feet in diameter at the base, and, when I first visited it, was about fifteen feet high.

CLINTON TOWNSHIP.—There are ancient works and mounds on the farm of H. C. Cook, situated on high ground, at the junction of two branches of a run that empties into the Olentangy. There is a cirular embankment and ditch (the latter on the interior). The ground is under cultivation, and the walls of the embankment are only a few feet high. The ditch and embankment follow, in part, the brow of the ravine. The mounds have been plowed over, and are now only a few feet high. I visited these mounds when a boy, and when the ground was covered with the original forest. The mounds, then, were conical, and about ten feet high. The ditch and embankment are nearly circular.

There is a "cache" on the Wetmore farm. It is on the east bank of the Olentangy at the junction of a run.

SHARON TOWNSHIP.—There is a mound on the farm of James Kinney, on the east side of the Olentangy creek, on an elevation overlooking the bottom lands. It has been plowed over for forty years, and is now partly leveled. It was originally about seventy-five feet in diameter at the base, and fifteen feet in height.

There is a mound on the farm of A. Coe, on the west side of the Olentangy, original diameter about seventy-five feet at base, and ten feet high. It is now nearly leveled.

There is a small, low mound, about a mile north of the last-named one, under cultivation, and only a few feet high.

There is a mound on the farm of W. R. Samuel, about one mile west of Alum creek, in the northeast part of the township.

MADISON TOWNSHIP.—There is a mound on the farm of G. L. Smith, on the south side of Little Walnut creek, and about one mile southeast of Groveport. It was about thirty feet in diameter, and eight feet high.

There are three mounds north of Canal Winchester. The first is on the farm of E. Stevenson, the second on the farm of James Lawrence, and the third on the farm of W. K. Algire. They are small mounds, about one-half a mile apart. The nearest stream is Black Lick creek.

TRURO TOWNSHIP.—There is a mound on the farm of W. Cornell, on the east bank of Big Walnut Creek, on high ground, overlooking the bottom land. It is on the north side of the national road, which cuts into the base a little. The mound is about two hundred feet in diameter at base, and thirty feet high.

MIFFLIN TOWNSHIP.—There is a small mound on the land of Albert Buttles' heirs, about two miles northeast of Columbus, and two-thirds of a mile west of Alum creek. Been plowed over a long time, and is now only three feet high.

There is an "Ancient Fort" on the farm of R. Jackson.

His house was built on it. It is about one mile west of Alum creek.

JEFFERSON TOWNSHIP.—There is a mound on the farm of F. Shull, on the east bank of Rocky Fork, a branch of Big Walnut. It is a large, oblong mound, diameter about two hundred by three hundred feet at base, and forty feet high, with a small conical mound on summit. Original forest standing on it.

There is a mound on the farm of Ambo Mann, on the west bank of the Black Lick creek. It is partly under cultivation, and originally was three hundred feet in diameter at the base, and thirty or forty feet high. It is on high ground.

There is a mound one mile north of the preceding one, on the farm of D. Headly, situated on the west side of Black Lick creek. It is under cultivation. Present height about ten feet; diameter, one hundred.

There is a mound on the farm of E. Dryer, situated on high ground, on the left hand or south side of Rocky Fork. The diameter at base is one hundred feet, and it was originally about fifteen feet high, now plowed over. I visited the mound when the ground was in forest, in 1860.

PLAIN TOWNSHIP.—There is a mound on the farm of E. Headley, on the west side of the Black Lick creek, and about one mile north of Headley's Corners. The original forest is yet standing on it. It is about three hundred feet in diameter at its base, and forty feet high.

There is a mound about forty rods northeast of the last-described one. It is a very large, low mound; the ground is under cultivation, and has been plowed over for a long time.

There is a mound sixty rods south of last-named one. It has been plowed over a long time, and probably was originally about seventy-five feet in diameter at base, and ten feet high.

BLENDON TOWNSHIP.—There is a mound on the farm

of M. C. Howard, on the west side of Big Walnut creek, a mile and a half north of Central College.

There are two mounds on the west bank of the Big Walnut creek, and southerly from Central College, in this township. I cannot locate them exactly at this time.

BROWN TOWNSHIP.—There is a mound on the farm of Henry Francis, on the east bank of the Big Darby. It has been plowed over, and is only a few feet high.

JACKSON TOWNSHIP.—There is a mound on James Corry's farm, six miles southwest of Columbus, on the west side of the Scioto river. It was originally a very large mound, and a large portion of it has been removed for the gravel and sand. When I was last there teamsters were loading dirt, which they said contained human bones in a crumbling condition. I was given some pieces of them, which I have now.

There is a small low mound, one mile northwest of the preceding.

FRANKLIN TOWNSHIP.—There is a mound on the farm of J. R. Anderson, two miles northwest of Columbus, on the left bank of the Scioto. It is about two hundred feet in diameter at the base, and thirty feet high.

There is a mound on the farm of S. W. Shurm, on the west side of the Scioto. It is about five miles northwest of Columbus.

PERRY TOWNSHIP.—There is a mound on the farm of T. Legg, five miles northwest of Columbus, and midway between the Scioto and Olentangy. It has been plowed over a long time, and has now only a few feet of elevation above the surface.

COLUMBUS, O., February 2, 1888.

Prof. G. F. Wright, Editor of THE QUARTERLY:

DEAR SIR:—Since sending you a list of the mounds, etc., in this county, I find something further upon the subject in Williams Bros.' History of Franklin and Picka-

way Counties, and I send you herewith extracts from the same. Yours truly,

PROSPER M. WETMORE.

(From Williams Bros.' History of Franklin and Pickaway Counties, Ohio. Page 381. Perry township.)

"ANCIENT WORKS.—On the banks of the Scioto river, in Perry township, are remains of ancient works, which have the appearance of fortifications, and were undoubtedly used as such by some earlier inhabitants of this county, of whom all trace further than these forts and mounds is lost. On the farm of Joseph Ferris, a mile north of Dublin bridge, are to be seen, in a good state of preservation, the outlines and embankments of three forts. One of these is within a few feet of his house, and is perhaps eighty feet in diameter, inside, with an entrance at the east side. The ditch and embankment are well defined. A short distance northeast of this spot, and within arrow-shot of it, is a larger fort in a square form, and enclosing nearly, or quite, half an acre of ground. Although the tramping of cattle for many years has worn down the embankments, they are several feet high, and the ditch, which is inside the works, is now some six feet deep. When the country was first settled this ditch was filled with water, and was a bed of mire, a pole thrust into the ground to a depth of ten feet finding no solid ground beneath. This would tend to show that originally this was a strong place, and that the ditch was quite deep. Time has filled it with dead leaves, and refuse matter has assisted in obliterating this work. It is situated on a hill that commands a view of the country for a considerable distance in either direction. At a little lower point, and nearer the river, is a small mound. There was also a small mound in the center of the larger fort, which was opened many years since, and found to contain the bones of a large man. These crumbled in pieces soon after being exposed to the air. It is possible that by uncovering

the ditch of this fort some relics of the extinct race that built these works might be obtained. Search of this kind has generally been turned to the mounds, instead of the inner ditches of the fort, where probably was the habitation of the builders. A short distance from this larger fort is a smaller one than that first described. There have been several old works of this kind along the bank of the river, between these works and Columbus, but they are mostly obliterated by the cultivation of the land on which they stood."

(Page 418.) "Along Big Darby creek in the western part of Brown township there existed in the early settlement many evidences of that mysterious people of whom so much has been written and so little known. On the farm of Henry Francis there is yet remaining quite an extensive mound, and towards the creek were numerous others, which have now disappeared. These were evidently tumuli, or burial places, as many human bones were found during the excavation of these works. There was also an enclosure, or fort, on the farm of H. C. Adler, Esq., with two circles, enclosing perhaps one-half an acre of ground. Its location was upon the high bank of the creek, toward which was the usual opening found in works of this kind. It was composed of gravel, which has been removed for building and other purposes. Human bones were also found here. It is highly probable that this was a favorite camping ground for the Indians, as stone hatchets, arrow-points, skinning knives, etc., were found here in great numbers by the settlers. Mr. Francis has a number of fine specimens found here."

WILLIAM DAVIS GALLAGHER.

By W. H. Venable.

William Davis Gallagher, poet, editor, and public official, was born in Philadelphia, August 21, 1808. His father, Bernard Gallagher, familiarly called "Barney," was an Irishman, a Roman Catholic, a participant in the rebellion that, in 1803, cost Robert Emmett his life. "Barney" Gallagher migrated to the United States, landing at the city of brotherly love, where, by the aid of John Binns, editor of the "Shamrock," he obtained work. Some time afterward he became acquainted with Miss Abigail Davis, of Bridgeport, New Jersey, who had been sent to Philadelphia by her widowed mother, to complete, at Quaker school, an education begun at home. "Abbey" Davis was the daughter of a Welsh farmer, who, volunteering in the Revolutionary War, lost his life under Washington at Valley Forge. The Irish refugee and the Welsh patriot's daughter were so much attracted to each other that they joined their lives in wedlock. Four sons, Edward, Francis, William and John were the issue of this marriage. The third was a child not eight years old when the father died. On his death-bed Bernard Gallagher refused to confess to his ministering priest the secrets of Free Masonry, which order he had joined, and the church not only refused him burial in consecrated grounds, but also condemned his body to be exposed to public derision in front of his own door; and the execution of this sentence was prevented by application for police interference. This was in 1814.

Two years after her husband's death, Mrs. Gallagher and her four sons, joining a small "Jersey Colony," removed west, crossing the mountains in a four-horsed and four-belled wagon of the old time, and floating down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati in

a strongly built and well-provided flat-boat of the period. The boy William amused himself during the whole "river voyage" by fishing out of the window of the boat. "I was sorry," said he, "when the boat landed and put an end to my fun."

The widow and her family located on a farm near Mount Healthy, now Mount Pleasant, Hamilton county, in the neighborhood of the Carys. Mrs. Gallagher and the mother of Alice and Phœbe Cary were near of kin, and the children of the two families were, of course, intimate.

Young William was put to work by his mother and his uncle at the various tasks a country lad is expected to do. In winter he went to school in a log school house. The teacher's name was Samuel Woodworth, whose scholars always addressed him as "Sir" Woodworth, such was the law of manners and the dignity of the preceptor's office in those days. Under guidance of "Sir" Woodworth, Master Gallagher grew familiar with the literary treasures of the "American Reader," and the "Columbian Orator." The boy was fond of these books, and still more enamored of the rosy-cheeked girls of Mount Healthy. Envious rivals taunted him by calling him "girl-boy," and the jeer caused fist-fights and bleeding noses. Not even the charms of the bare-footed maidens at spelling school "worked with such a spell" on "Billy" (for that was his nickname), as did the attractions of the woods. What so seductive to the natural boy as the unfenced forest? What so much coveted as freedom to ramble over the hills and far away? Gallagher's ruling instinct, in boyhood and manhood, was admiration of nature — especially love of woodland scenery. His young feet trod every hill and valley about Mount Healthy and along Mill creek, whose remembered banks he long after celebrated as "Mahketewa's Flowery Marge." Well did he know the wild flowers and native birds. He plucked spicy grapes, or luscious pawpaws, in season, and gathered hoards of hickory nuts to crack by the winter fire. In summer weather, he found hidden

springs, and traced wandering brooks from source to mouth.

One day the prepossessing boy, with his cheerful, ruddy face, was observed by a Mrs. Graham, of Clermont county, Ohio, who was visiting at Mount Healthy. Mrs. Graham was so much pleased with "Billy" that she begged his mother to allow him to return to Clermont county with her, and live there for a time and do "chores." "Want my boy?" said the widow mother, with tears of protest. Yet, on reflection, she consented to the proposal, and William went with the lady to Clermont county, where, for perhaps a year, he worked at "Graham's Mill." After his return home he resumed farm-work on the place of David Jessup. The toil was hard, but relief was found in stolen escapes to the woods; or to Cummins' tan-yard, where some pet bears were kept; or to Spring Grove, where was a herd of tame buffaloes. Sometimes he was sent to Irving's mill, and while waiting for his grist he would sit under a certain tree, which to-day stands within the enclosure of Spring Grove cemetery, and read one of his few books, usually the "Columbian Orator."

The routine of the youth's drudgery was broken by the thoughtful interest of his oldest brother Edward, who, visiting the Jessup farm, saw that William was working "like a nigger," as he expressed it, and insisted that the boy should be put to school. A consultation of mother, brother and uncle was held, and it was decided that Billy should go to town and attend the Lancastrian Seminary, he promising not to waste time by truancy in the woods or along the alluring shores of the Ohio. The Lancastrian Seminary, conducted by Edmund Harrison, was opened in March, 1815. George Harrison, one of the sons of the principal, took a kindly interest in the ingenuous country boy, and gave him an opportunity, while yet a student in the school, to learn to "set type," in the office of a small paper called *The Remembrancer*, edited by Rev. David Root, pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church. The paper was printed at a small office in a building up "old

post-office alley," west of Main Street, between Third and Fourth Streets. Here Gallagher received his first lessons in the printer's art and in proof-reading. The most puzzling part of the work was to understand and correct the *poetry*, which seemed, to the embryo editor, absurd for the reason that it was not written in prose. "I wondered," said he, referring to this experience after a lapse of sixty years, "why the stupid contributors didn't put what they had to say plainly, instead of cutting it up ridiculously, in short lines, with capitals at one end and rhymes at the other."

In 1826 Hon. James W. Gazlay started an agricultural paper called *The Western Tiller*, and young Gallagher was employed as general assistant in its management. Not only did he attend to the mechanical department, but he also ventured to write, and became so expert with the pen that, on occasion, Gazlay left him in charge of the paper, jokingly declaring that "Billy" had superseded him as editor.

Mr. Gazlay disposed of *The Tiller* in 1828 to Wm. J. Ferris, and Gallagher's services were then engaged, for a time, by Mr. S. J. Brown, proprietor of the Cincinnati *Emporium*, a newspaper founded in 1824. Brown was personally remarkable for his lisping, and he often boasted that he was "thole editor of the Thinthinnati *Emporium*." Gallagher's connection with the *Emporium* was brief. His next newspaper experience was with the *Commercial Register*, the first daily in Cincinnati. This journal, edited by Morgan Neville and published by S. S. Brooks, survived only six months. While engaged on the *Register*, Gallagher was requested by his brother Francis to take part in the joint production of a new literary periodical. With precipitate zeal the brothers plunged into the enterprise, and the *Western Minerva* was born almost as soon as conceived. This new daughter of Jove was named in the classical style of the time, and after an eastern magazine then flourishing. The *Western Minerva*, notwithstanding

its divine name, died in about a year, and hardly deserves an epitaph. In the year 1824 Mr. John P. Foote published the *Literary Gazette,* for which W. D. Gallagher wrote his first verses. He was then only sixteen, and the tripping "Lines on Spring," which he sent through the mail to Mr. Foote, were signed "Julia."

On January 1, 1826, F. Burton began to publish the Cincinnati *Saturday Evening Chronicle,* with Benjamin F. Drake as editor. Mr. Gallagher wrote for the *Chronicle,* under the pseudonym "Rhoderick," and his friend, Otway Curry, contributed to it also, signing his articles "Abdallah."

In the summer of 1828, Gallagher, not yet of age, went to Mt. Sterling, Kentucky, to visit his brother John, who attended school there. A violent contest for the governorship was raging between the Whig candidate, David Merriwether, "Old Stone-Hammer," and the fierce Democratic orator, W. T. Barry, one of Clay's respected forensic rivals. Gallagher espoused the Whig cause by writing for a party newspaper conducted at Mt. Sterling by Weston F. Birch. While meditating editorials, laudatory of "Old Stone-Hammer," the sojourning knight of the goose-quill received intelligence that his brother Francis was lying ill at Natchez. William bought a horse and rode from Mount Sterling to Louisville; thence, by steamboat, he completed the journey to Natchez. The horse-back trip through Kentucky was crowded with incident. One evening the traveler came to the gate of a large house, which a black servant told him belonged to General James Taylor. The General was not at home, but his wife, a stately lady, very hospitably invited the young stranger to dismount and rest awhile under her roof. The black slave put the horse in the stable, and the bashful rider followed the courteous southern matron into the big house, and was there treated to a glass of "Metheglin," mixed by her own fair hands. Pursuing his further adventures, the romantic "Rhoderick," arrived at Ashland and announced himself as a

"Young Whig from Ohio," who desired to pay his respects to Henry Clay. The distinguished "Harry of the West" came out and cordially greeted the pilgrim, and asked him to stay all night, but the honor was gracefully declined.

Passing through Louisville he saw, where now the finest part of the city is built, a swampy wildernes, populous with beaver. The open-eyed traveler observed everything, and wrote from Mississippi a series of descriptive letters for the *Chronicle.* These were read by many, and their author was talked about as a smart young fellow, worthy to be encouraged. One of the first to recognize his talents and speak in his praise was the educator, Milo G. Williams. Gallagher returned to Cincinnati to find himself quite a local lion. Doubtless, the people thought still better of him when it was known he had saved a few dollars by self-denial, and that he was desirous of securing for his mother a home of her own. He bought a ground lot of Nicholas Longworth, the eccentric pioneer millionaire, but had not the means to build a house. "See here, Billy," suggested Mr. Longworth, "I want you to build a house for your mother; now, can you raise money enough to buy the lumber? Get the lumber, and I will build the house, and you may pay me when you are able." The offer was accepted; the house was built, and paid for in easy payments. The house was situated on the north side of Fourth street, between "Western Row," now Central avenue, and John street, and overlooked the sloping plain that lay between the bluff on which it stood and the Ohio river, and the mouth of Mill creek; and took in, most picturesquely and charmingly, what is now the town plot of Covington, and the beautiful hills of Ludlow, one of which was crowned with the celebrated Carneal House, or "Egyptian Hall."

We have seen that Gallagher was an enthusiastic Whig and a worshipper of Clay. It is not strange that, in 1830, he was persuaded by some of the prominent Whigs of Green county to cast his fortunes on the hazard of a "tooth-and-

toe-nails" campaign newspaper, at Xenia, Ohio. Even the mother's new house was sold to provide an outfit for a small printing office, and, in a short time, the *Backwoodsman* was issued, a sheet devoted generally to hurrahing for Clay and specially to using up Jimmy Gardner, editor of the Jackson organ of Xenia. Gallagher was elated to see his first leader copied in the *National Journal*, and to learn that Clay himself had read it with approval. In the course of the campaign a banquet was given to the Ashland hero, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, on which occasion the modest editor of the *Backwoodsman* was surprised and abashed on finding that the committee of arrangements had trapped him into a seat just opposite the great statesman, who, it appears, requested to have an opportunity of talking with "that bright young man from Xenia who writes so well."

All this was pleasant enough; but the *Backwoodsman* despite its cleverness, was doomed to fail with the failing political fortunes of its idol. The man who "would rather be right than be President" was not chosen President, and consequently Gallagher's labor of love was lost, and with it all his money and much of his self-confidence.

One of the pleasant incidents of Gallagher's life at Xenia took place in the office of the *Backwoodsman* in the summer of 1830. One day a gentleman called and asked to see the editor. The printer's devil ran up stairs where Gallagher was at work, and gave the message: "A man down there wants to see you; he says his name is Prentice." He of the *Backwoodsman*, in a flurry, would brush up and wash his inky hands before presenting himself to the late editor of the *New England Review*, but George shouts from below, "Never mind black fingers!" and the next minute the two young journalists meet and join hands. Prentice was on his way to Lexington to prepare his "Life of Clay."

By far the most important event of Mr. Gallagher's life at Xenia was his marriage to Miss Emma Adamson, a daughter of Captain Adamson, of Boston.

Some brilliant worldly expectations had been built on the assumption that Clay would be President; and when the campaign ended in disappointment, the newly wedded pair knew not which way to look for a living. Just about this dark time it came into the mind of John H. Wood, a Cincinnati book-seller, to start a literary paper in connection with his business, and he invited Gallagher to take editorial charge of it at a guaranteed salary. The offer was accepted gladly, and, turning over the care of the fast-expiring *Backwoodsman* to Francis, William took stage with his pretty wife and hastened to Cincinnati, and presently began his first important literary labor, the management of the *Cincinnati Mirror.* This was the fourth literary periodical published west of the Alleghany mountains. Its prototype, the *New York Mirror,* was a well established and influential journal. The new paper, a quarto, excellently printed on good paper, and of attractive appearance, was issued semi-monthly. The first two volumes were edited by Gallagher solely. At the beginning of the third year Gallagher formed a partnership with Thomas H. Shreve, and the two became proprietors of the publication. It was enlarged and issued weekly under the name *Cincinnati Mirror and Western Gazette of Literature.* In April, 1835, the *Chronicle,* then owned by Rev. James H. Perkins, was merged in the *Mirror,* and Perkins shared the editorship of the periodical. The concern was sold October, 1835, to James B. Marshall, who united with it a publication called the *Buckeye,* and named it the *Buckeye and Cincinnati Mirror.* Within three months Marshall sold out to Flash and Ryder, book-sellers on Third Street, who engaged Gallagher and Shreve to resume control of the once more plain *Cincinnati Mirror.* All now went on smoothly until Gallagher offended Mr. Ryder by refusing to print matter endorsing Tom Paine's irreligious views. A quarrel followed, and both Gallagher and Shreve resigned. They were succeeded by J. Reese Fry, who, though he had fair editorial ability, could not

prevent the *Mirror* from sinking to final extinction within two months.

The *Mirror* never paid its way, though it had an extensive circulation in the Mississippi valley. Its contents embraced original and selected tales, essays, poetry, biographical and historical sketches, reviews of and extracts from new books, and a compendium of the news of the day. Nearly all the leading western writers contributed to it. Among these were Timothy Flint, J. A. McClung, John B. Dillon, Harvy D. Little, Morgan Neville, Benjamin Drake, Mrs. Julia Dumont and Mrs. Lee Hentz. From the east, Mr. Whittier contributed at least one poem—"Lines on a Portrait."

When, in 1832, Mr. Gallagher held this literary "Mirror" up to nature and art on the banks of the Ohio, Bryant was but thirty-eight years old, Longfellow and Whittier but twenty-five, Poe twenty-one, and Howells lacked five years of being born. The backwoods editor's comments on cotemporary literature read curiously in the light of present reputations. Encouraging mention is made of a fifty-dollar prize story, "A New England Sketch, by Miss Beecher, of this city." The reviewer says the story "is written with great sprightliness, humor and pathos," and that "none but an intelligent and observant lady could possibly have written it." In a notice of "Mogg Megone," Whittier is discriminatingly heralded as a "man whom his countrymen will yet delight to honor. Some of his early writings are among the happiest juvenile productions with which we are acquainted." The complacent editor mentions "Outre Mer" favorably, saying that it was written by Professor Longfellow, "who is very well known to American readers," and that "it is for sale at Josiah Drake's bookstore on Main street."

Mr. Gallagher wrote much for the *Mirror* in prose and verse, and his editorials, sketches and poems were widely copied. One of his pieces, a carefully finished short essay, entitled "The Unbeliever," was credited to

Dr. Chalmers, and appeared in a school reader with that classic divine's name attached.

While editor of the *Mirror,* Gallagher made his debut as a speaker, by delivering before the "Lyceum," an "Eulogium on the Life and Character of William Wirt." The old Enon Church, where the "Lyceum" met, was crowded, and the orator, when he rose to speak, was so frightened that he could not at first open his mouth, but the reassuring smile of the president, Doctor Daniel Drake, restored his self-command, and the address was pronounced satisfactorily.

The "Lyceum" was a society for popular edification, conducted under the auspices of the Ohio Mechanics' Institute. Before it, Calvin E. Stowe delivered a course of lectures on the "History of Letters," and Judge James Hall read an address on the "Importance of Establishing a First-Class Library in Cincinnati."

The old Enon Church, on Walnut street, was also the meeting place of a club called the "Franklin Society," the members of which, we are told, "met week after week, with much benefit to all concerned." "Many a cold and cheerless evening," wrote the editor of the *Western Quarterly*, "have we seen half a dozen enthusiastic youths gathered about and shivering over the stove in the corner of the large apartment, while the President, wrapped in dignity and a large cloak, sat chattering his teeth, apart from the group, and member after member stepped aside and made speeches, many of which were distinguished by brilliancy and true eloquence."

A more popular debating society was the "Inquisition," mentioned in Channing's "Memoir of James H. Perkins." The "Inquisition" was attended by the beauty and fashion of Cincinnati. Mr. Gallagher shone with the young gentry who read polite essays at Dr. Drake's parlors, and shivered with the talented plebeians of the Franklin society. He was also the very soul of a unique private junto numbering but eight members, and named the Tags, or the T. A. G.

S., these cabalistic letters being the initials of the four who originated the conclave, namely, Frederic William Thomas, Samuel York Atlee, William Davis Gallagher and Thomas Henry Shreve.

Still another very interesting club may be referred to here, though it arose somewhat later than those mentioned. It was called the "Forty-Twos," from the circumstance that, at its founding, all of its members were over forty-one years of age and under forty-three. The "Forty-Twos" met in the law office of Salmon P. Chase, on Third street, (the office in which Don Piatt says the Republican party was born.) Among its members, besides Chase and Gallagher, were Samuel Eels, Jordan A. Pugh, and Charles L. Telford. The club was larger than that of the "Tags," and had more of a social nature, but it did a great deal in the way of developing a literary taste in Cincinnati.

It was before the appearance of the *Mirror* that W. D. Gallagher won his first laurels for poetical achievement. Some verses of his called "The Wreck of the Hornet," published anonymously, went the rounds of the American press, and were ascribed to the pen of Bryant. The success of this fugitive piece gave its author confidence to produce others, and he was soon recognized as the leading imaginative writer of the West.

In the spring of 1835 he published a little book of thirty-six pages, entitled "Erato No. I.," dedicated to Timothy Flint. The naming of his collection after a lyric muse was suggested, probably, by the example of Percival, who a dozen years before, had put forth "Clio No. I." and "Clio No. II." Gallagher's maiden venture was received with favor; and, in August, 1835, "Erato No. II." was issued, and this was followed, two years later, by "Erato No. III." A long and laudatory review of these three booklets appeared in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for July, 1838. The reviewer says: "It is to be regretted that, in justice to the poet, these volumes were not published in one of the Atlantic cities, inasmuch as it would have

extended the reputation of the author, and given currency to his works, which a Western press can not secure to them. The Atlantic side of the Alleghanies is sufficiently controlled by that kind of prejudice in relation to ultramontane literature, that led one, some two thousand years ago, to say, 'Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?' These prejudices should not be neglected or despised by Western writers. The names of Messrs. Harper & Brothers, or Carey, Lea & Blanchard, on the title page of many a book has often proved a better endorsement to the public than the author's. How natural it is to condemn a book unread that has the imprint of a country town. There is the same kind of faith extended to an unknown book as to an unknown bank note; if it bears city names, and is of a city bank, it is received with confidence, and if it is a country bill it is taken with hesitation and suspicion." The alleged Eastern prejudice to Western literary outputs was met by Gallagher with obstinate provincial pride and defiance. To him the building up of Western literature was a duty which he exalted to the rank of patriotism and religion. He advocated the fostering of home genius with a fervor like that which protectionists manifested in discussing domestic industries. Instead of seeking Eastern publishers, Gallagher did not even comply with their voluntary requests to handle his books, though this was owing, in part, to his careless disposition. Under date of March, 1881, he wrote to a friend: "I have been solicited repeatedly by Eastern publishers; never but twice, that I remember, by Western publishers." In the same letter, alluding to the volumes he wrote, and magazines he edited, he says: "I do not possess a copy of any one of them."

Returning to the ambitious and sentimental period of Gallagher's career, we find that he was admired for his handsome looks. One of his cotemporaries wrote: "He has a manly figure, tall and well proportioned, with a lofty and somewhat haughty carriage. His complexion is

very fair and ruddy; his face exhibits a remarkably youthful appearance, as if but nineteen and not twenty-eight years had passed over his head. In conversation, he is animated and energetic, evincing the man of quick sensibility, the bold thinker, the acute critic and severe satirist. His eyes are lively and of a piercing blue. His forehead is fair and open, denoting intellectual strength, with softened outlines, and is the index of the graceful character of his mind." The allusion in this description to Gallagher's "haughty carriage," recalls the fact that the boys in the printing office used to call him William "Dignity" Gallagher.

Neither his handsome person, nor his versatile talents brought much hard cash. Deprived of the salary which he had received as editor of the meager *Mirror*, the poet found himself in the unpoetical condition of a man with a wife to support on no income whatever. He wrote to Otway Curry: "I must do something to raise a little money, for I am almost too badly clad to appear in the street." Grasping at an invisible straw, he issued a prospectus for a weekly paper, *The Cincinnati Spectator and Family News-Letter*, but the name was all of the paper that ever appeared. However, in June, 1836, Messrs. Smith and Day projected a *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Review*, and Gallagher was called to edit it. Mark the western tone and confident air of this passage from the opening number: "Let us, who are in the enjoyment of a triune youthfulness, being young as a people, young in years, and young as a literary community, endeavor to approach the Fathers of English Poetry. Let us discard the affectation of parlor prettiness, wax-work niceties and milliner-like conceits. Let us turn our lady-pegasus out to pasture, and mount coursers of speed and mettle. Let us give over our pacing and ambling, and dash off with a free rein." To these imperative appeals the readers of the *Journal* were probably insensible; at any rate they did not pay liberally for such exhortation, and the starving editor's starving periodical gave up the

ghost, aged one year. The lively ghost flew to Louisville and was there re-embodied, being merged in the *Western Monthly Magazine*, which Judge Hall sold to James B. Marshall in 1836. The combined publication forming the *Western Monthly Magazine and Literary Journal* was to be issued simultaneously from Cincinnati and Louisville. Gallagher was employed to edit it, and he entered upon this new labor with unflagging zeal. The *Western Academician*, (think of a Western Academician in 1837,) says of this new venture: "It is replete with good articles." Notwithstanding its exuberance of merit, the journal expired with the issue of the fifth number, perhaps being too good to live, and William D. Gallagher was left once more a man without a periodical. But now a star of hope appeared in the north. John M. Gallagher, the poet's youngest brother, had become manager of the *Ohio State Journal*, at Columbus, Ohio, and he invited William to assist him. Such an opportunity was not to be slighted, and we may imagine the strong Whig, who had begun his journalistic labors as editor of the Clay newspaper at Xenia, now using the language of Leigh Hunt:

> "I yield, I yield.—Once more I turn to you,
> Harsh politics! and once more bid adieu
> To the soft dreaming of the Muses' bowers."

Gallagher removed with his family to Columbus, and entered upon editorial duties, also writing political letters from the Capital for the *Cincinnati Gazette* under the signature of "Probus." But his connection with the *State Journal* was of short duration. Standing by his convictions with his usual stubbornness he opposed, editorially, the publication of the laws in the German language and the teaching of any foreign language in the public schools. Finding that his views were unpopular and injurious to the business interests of the paper, he chose to resign rather than suppress his honest opinions.

Before withdrawing from the *Journal* he projected what proved to be his most important enterprise in litera-

ture, a magazine named "*The Hesperian.*" This was a monthly miscellany of general literature. The first number came out in May, 1838. Otway Curry assisted in editing the first volume. Two volumes were published at Columbus,—the third and last at Cincinnati. The senior editor, in his opening "Budget," confesses that his past ten years' exertions in behalf of literature "have been fruitless to himself of everything but experience," yet he finds courage to make one more attempt, "because he loves the pursuit,—because he thinks he can be useful in it,—because he is convinced there is, throughout the whole West, a great demand and a growing necessity for labor in it,—and because he believes that under present auspices it can be made to yield at least a *quid pro quo.*"

The *Hesperian* was jealously Western, as its name sufficiently suggests, but it was by no means narrow, shallow, or provincial. Its watchwords were Freedom, Education, Manhood, Fair Play. The contents were wide-ranging—geographical, historical, biographical, political, poetical, agricultural, theological, romantic and fictitious. Among its contributors, were the Drakes, Shreve, Perkins, Neville, Prentice, W.G. Simms, S. P. Hildreth, C. P. Cranch, I. A. Jewett, A. Kinmont, R. Dale Owen, Jas. W. Ward, Mrs. Sigourney, Mrs. Lee Hentz, Amelia B. Welby, and many others worthy to hold a permanent place in literature. Gallagher himself wrote copiously and very ably for the *Hesperian.* In its pages appeared his most ambitious story, "The Dutchman's Daughter," which, though crude and ill-sustained as a whole, has descriptive passages that would grace the pen of Irving.

The *Hesperian* was transferred from Columbus to Cincinnati in April, 1839. The editor procured a room in the third story of a brick house on Third street, east of Main—a room ten by twelve, with a door and a single window. "And in this small place," writes he gaily to his wife, "Emma dear," on May Day, "the renowned editor of the *Hesperian* is to read, write, eat, drink, go to

bed, get up, and entertain his friends." To Curry he wrote, lugubriously quoting Mother Goose, "I have so many children I don't know what to do." Again to Mrs. Gallagher on May 15, "I enclose you three dollars, all the money I have, and I hope it will last you till I can get and furnish you some more." This period was the proverbial darkest hour just before daybreak. The "Probus" letters had made a favorable impression on Charles Hammond, the chief editor of the Cincinnati *Gazette*, and induced him to offer Gallagher an important position as his assistant. Hammond was at that time the most influential journalist in the country. He was an intimate adviser of Clay, and had been called, by Webster, the "greatest genius that ever wielded the political pen." Thomas Ewing had said of Hammond that he used a language as pure as that of Addison. It was no light honor to be called and chosen by so eminent a man. With the honor came also a liberal salary. "Emma" and the "so many children" were now well provided for. The *Hesperian* was discontinued and the duties of the new career were begun in the latter part of 1839, to be continued, with little interruption, for ten years. Mr. Gallagher at first attended mainly to the literary department of the paper, but after the death of Mr. Hammond in 1840, he did much political writing. He became more and more interested in State and national questions, and took an active part in party management. For many years he was Secretary of the Whig Committee for the First Congressional District of Ohio. In 1842 he was nominated candidate for the State legislature, but declined to run.

The love of literature continued to hold sway over him. In 1840 he planned a literary undertaking of praiseworthy character and generous scope, as may be gathered from the following letter to Otway Curry:

[*To Otway Curry, Esq., Marysville, Union County, Ohio.*]

CINCINNATI, Nov. 7, 1840.

MY DEAR CURRY—I thank you for your original contribu-

tion to the Poetical Volume, and shall insert it as the second selection from you, "The Goings Forth of God" being the first. It was not my original design to have admitted anything not before published, but Jones thought he could do better than he had yet done, and Shreve ditto; and, while I held their requests for the privilege of inserting an *original*, under advisement, along came your *voluntary*. This, as there was no impropriety in deviating from the first plan thus made, decided me. Perkins, I think, will have an original likewise; and, in the forewritten verses,[1] you have one of my own. I do not wish it known, however, that the volume contains *anything* specially prepared for it.

I had not room in my last letter to detail to you the whole of my design. The volume of "Selections from the Poetical Literature of the West" is but the first feature of it. My intention is to follow this up in regular order by three other volumes, of "Selections from the Polite Literature of the West," "Selections from the Pulpit Literature of the West," and "Selections from the Political Literature of the West." Don't wipe those old *specs* of yours so hard, now. I've been looking over the level *prairies* of these intellectual regions, and I find in them materials enough for all I have contemplated. The truth is, Curry, this Transmontane world is a most glorious one, and I can't help trying to do something for its literary character, engage in whatsoever else I may, and starve, as I fear I must at this. I suppose these several volumes will come out at intervals of from five to six months, till the whole shall have been published.

About your "Veiled Prophet," I feel some anxiety. Burton's new theater, I understand, has been open for a number of weeks, yet I hear nothing either of Jemmy Thorn or from him. The first one of our citizens whom I find starting for Philadelphia I shall get to call upon Burton and make personal inquiry, &c., with reference to it.

About that Congress of lunatics which you suggest: Perkins thinks well of it, Shreve thinks well of it, Curry thinks well of it and Gallagher thinks well of it; and each of these distinguished men, doubtless, will willingly meet, lunaticise and go home again. What further than this, while the matter is so entirely a new suggestion, can I

[1] A poem entitled "Little Children," enclosed in the letter to Curry.

say? Give us your plan, and if it be as good and feasible as I presume it is, you will find us readily and actively seconding your motion.

And now, my dear fellow, a word in your ear confidentially. I am very busy now-a-days, and should not therefore have replied to your last so promptly but that I want very much to be "astonished jist." So crack your whip, and let us know what that "something" is, about which you prate so bigly. Thine as ever,

W. D. GALLAGHER.

P. S.—Write me down, if you please, richer since day before yesterday, by another child, and poorer by what it will cost to keep it. This makes the fifth, all alive and kicking, and able to eat mush with the children of any Clodhopper in the land."

That Gallagher's inclinations kept pulling him towards literature for some years after he became a political editor, is evident from a breezy letter written to Curry in August, 1844:

"DEAR CURRY — Upon accurate calculation, the time of the rising of the new literary comet of the West has been determined. You and other benighted people in your region may look for a luminous streak in the Heavens at 9 h. 10 m. 11 sec. October 1, 1844. After this announcement, my dear fellow, can you remain idle? I hope not, for the sake of the new experiment, the credit of your name, and the honor of your friend, who pledged to Messrs. Judson and Hine an article from your pen for the first number, and probably one for the second, and another for the third. The work is to be gotten out in the handsomest style, and you will have the pleasure of appearing in good company. Lay aside your political pen, therefore, shut up your law books, mount Pegasus, or some comely prose nag, and away to the free fields! What do you say? Shall I have something from you to hand over by the 6th to 10th prox.? Don't make it later, for the first copy is now in hand, and they want to be out early. Think of the olden time — your first love — wipe your specks — stick in a Havana — hum a madrigal — and dash into the thing pell-mell. Let me hear from you at once."

OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Proceedings for the Year 1887, with Abstracts of Addresses and Papers Presented Before the Society.

Columbus, January 14th, 1887.

The Society met in the Senate Chamber in the State House, F. C. Sessions, First Vice President, in the chair.

The Secretary reported that four active members had been received since the last meeting, and that several donations had been made to the museum. Among the donations were a surveyor's level and receipt book, accompanied by the following letter:

"Portsmouth, Scioto County,
January 14th, 1887.

A. A. Graham, Secretary of the Ohio Arch. & Hist. Society:

Dear Sir: Aurora Lodge, 48, Free and Accepted Masons, of Portsmouth, Ohio, being possessed of the level and receipt book used by our late brother, Francis Cleveland, when State Civil Engineer locating the Ohio and Erie Canal in 1829, and deeming them worth preserving, —not for their intrinsic value, but that they might find a place in the State archives as relics—decided to present them to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, and to accomplish that end appointed the undersigned Committee. We, therefore, in the discharge of our duty, express them to your address, and, through you, do formally present them to the above Society.

The level is the one used by Mr. Thomas J. Matthews, father of Justice Stanley Matthews, who, upon his appointment to a professorship in the Lexington, Ky., University, resigned the position of Ohio State Civil Engineer, and Brother Cleveland was appointed his successor.

Brother Cleveland was Secretary of Aurora Lodge the last twenty-five consecutive years of his life. He was uncle of Grover Cleveland, President of the United States.

JOHN K. LODWICK,
J. H. JOHNSON,
R. A. BRYAN,

Committee of Aurora Lodge, No. 48, F. and A. M.

ATTEST: J. H. JOHNSON,
Sec'y Aurora Lodge, No. 48, F. and A. M."

On motion of E. O. Randall the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Ohio State Archæological [and Historical] Society be extended to Aurora Lodge, No. 48, F. & A. M., of Portsmouth, Ohio, for the level and the receipt-book used by Thomas J. Matthews and Francis Cleveland in the surveys of the Ohio and Erie Canal, and that the same are hereby accepted; and that a copy of this resolution, attested by the President and Secretary of the Society, be sent to the officers of the lodge.

General E. B. Finley, of Bucyrus, Ohio, then read a paper upon "Drift." [An abstract of the paper will appear in the QUARTERLY.]

The Society then, upon motion, adjourned.

COLUMBUS, February 8, 1887.

The Society met in the Senate chamber, and was called to order by J. J. Janney, who, in the absence of the Secretary, presented the monthly report.

An address upon "Volcanoes and Earthquakes" was then delivered by Hon. George G. Washburn, of Elyria.

[An abstract of this address will appear in the QUARTERLY.]

At its conclusion the Society, upon motion, adjourned.

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

COLUMBUS, February 23d, 1887.

The Society met in public session in the Hall of the House of Representatives, in the State House, at 7:30 o'clock, P. M.

F. C. Sessions, First Vice President, read the annual address on the History and Prospects of the Society. [This address is printed in full on page 332 of the QUARTERLY.]

After a brief interval William P. Cutler, of Marietta, was introduced, who read a paper on "The Ordinance of 1787." [This paper was printed in full in the QUARTERLY for June, 1887, page 10.] The Society then adjourned to meet in the State Library at 10 o'clock the next morning.

THURSDAY, February 24th, 1887.

The Society met in the State Library, at 10 o'clock, Vice President Sessions in the chair.

The Secretary read the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer, which, on motion, were referred to the Executive Committee.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were then read and approved.

The report of Committees being next in order, Wm. P. Cutler, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, submitted the following report, which was, on motion, unanimously adopted:

"WHEREAS, The foundation of civil and religious liberty, of civil government, and of national independence resulted from the wisdom, patriotism and fidelity of the thirteen States acting through the Continental Congress, and

"WHEREAS, Their patriotic services were especially directed to the conquest of the territory northwest of the river Ohio from the British Crown, to the amicable adjustment of all conflicting claims to it by the several States —members of the Confederacy—and pursuing the wise policy of organizing a distinct government, they enacted an ordinance, on the 13th day of July, 1787, which stands sa a monument of their wisdom and as their basis of civil government in said territory, and

"WHEREAS, The centennial anniversary of the first permanent occupation of the territory, under the provisions of that ordinance, will occur on the 7th day of April, 1888, and

"WHEREAS, Arrangements are in progress for a suitable celebration of that event at Marietta, Ohio, and for an Industrial Exposition at the capital of the State, also to erect at Marietta a monumental structure to commemorate the distinguished services rendered to our common country by all the actors in the events of our nation's early history; therefore, be it

"*Resolved*, That a cordial invitation be extended to each of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia to be represented at such celebration and exposition, and to take such interest in the monumental structure as may be most convenient and agreeable to each of them respectively;

"*Resolved*, further, That Ohio, as the first born of such illustrious parentage, extends this invitation with an earnest desire that such a reunion upon her soil of veterans in the great cause of human rights and civil liberty, may be an occasion when all asperities of the past may be softened by the grateful recollections of the patriotic services of an honored and common ancestry bestowed upon a common country.

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of this society be instructed to issue a circular to each of the State Historical Societies of the old thirteen States, and to those formed out of the Northwest Territory, setting forth the objects of the Centennial to be held at Marietta on April 7th, 1888; also the general purpose of erecting a monument at that place, and to make, and to invite the co-operation of these societies in making the celebration an event of national interest and importance, and that by recalling the memories of the founders of our nation, a spirit of good will and harmony may be presented; that with a view to preserve and perpetuate for the benefit of posterity, the early part of history as connected with the Northwest and its institutions, the several societies be requested to furnish such legends and historical inscriptions as may be properly placed upon the proposed monumental structure; and that the plan and wishes of each society may be communicated as early as possible to the trustees of the Marietta Centennial Committee, that a plan of the structure may be decided upon."

The Secretary presented the resignation of John B.

Peaslee, as trustee and member of the Committee on the Centennial Memorial, which, on motion of Dr. I. W. Andrews, was accepted, and Dr. Eli T. Tappan elected to the vacancy.

Mr. Wm. P. Cutler, from the Committee on the Centennial Memorial to be erected at Marietta, made the folowing report:

"The Committee on the Centennial Monument ask leave to report:

"That a Memorial was presented by this Society at its last annual meeting to the Legislature of Ohio, asking that body to take action in regard to raising money for building a monumental structure at Marietta, in commemoration of the first settlement of Ohio, on the 7th of April, 1788, under the auspices of the ordinance of July 13, 1787.

"In response to this memorial, the Legislature instructed our Senators, and requested the Representatives in Congress, to use their efforts to procure aid from the United States. The Senate have agreed to an amendment to the Civil Service Appropriation bill providing for a payment to the Marietta Centennial Monument Association of $50,000, provided a like sum shall be raised by the State of Ohio, or by other means. The amendment is now pending between the two Houses of Congress.

"The citizens of Marietta have organized, under the laws of Ohio, a Monumental Association, having power to receive donations in real or personal estate, and apply them to the erection of a monument. That Association is making efforts to raise a monument fund from private sources, and have made a good start in that direction. The people of Marietta have also organized efficient committees to make suitable preparations for a Centennial celebration.

"The programme comprises the erection of a large auditorium, and it is proposed that April 6th, 1888, shall be devoted to such reunions of pioneers as may be brought together on the occasion. The 7th to be occupied by addresses and the Centennial exercises. The 8th being the Sabbath, will be devoted to a review of the religious and educational features of the ordinance of 1787, and their application and progress during the century. Invitations have been extended by the Ohio Legislature to the several States of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin to participate in the proposed cele-

bration. Favorable responses have been received from these invitations.

"Respectfully submitted,

"W. P. CUTLER,
"Chairman."

The report was accepted and the committee continued.

On invitation, Gen. S. H. Hurst, representing the Centennial Exposition to be held in Columbus in the autumn of 1888, appeared before the Society and addressed the members on the work to be done and the objects of the Centennial Exposition. On motion of Major E. C. Dawes, the Secretary was instructed to extend invitations on behalf of the Society to the Ohio Societies in New York, Washington City, California and other places where they exist; also to the Massachusetts Society in Cincinnati to participate in the coming centennial.

Mr. W. C. Turner, from the Committee on Archæology, read the report of the chairman, Professor Wright, and a letter from Prof. F. W. Putnam. The report showed progress, and recommended additional members on the committee.

The report was adopted; the Committee, on motion of Mr. Turner, increased to nine members and made a Standing Committee.

The report of the Committee and the letter of Professor Putnam were ordered printed in the regular proceedings of the Society. [See the QUARTERLY for June, 1887, page 55.]

The Secretary presented for consideration the question of the form of the Society's publication. After consideration it was, on motion of Major E. C. Dawes, resolved that the Society issue its publication in pamphlet or magazine form, not less than once per quarter.

Dr. I. W. Andrews presented an invitation, from the Washington County Pioneer Society, to hold the next annual meeting of this Society at Marietta, at the time of the Centennial of the settlement of that place.

On motion of Mr. Rickly the invitation was referred to the Executive Committee, with the request that the same be accepted.

On motion the Chair appointed a committee to nominate five trustees for the term of three years.

On motion of Mr. Rickly the preparation of the pamphlet-programme of exercises for the schools was referred to the Executive Committee, the expression of the Society being that the Secretary be authorized to prepare the same for publication.

The Society then took a recess till 2 o'clock P. M.

On reconvening at 2 P. M., the Committee on Nominations presented the following names for trustees for three years:

WM. P. CUTLER, Marietta;
N. S. TOWNSHEND, Columbus;
REV. WM. E. MOORE, Columbus;
E. C. DAWES, Cincinnati;
C. C. BALDWIN, Cleveland.

The report of the committee was adopted, and the above persons elected.

On motion, the Society adjourned to meet in public session at 7:30 P. M.

SECOND PUBLIC SESSION.

The Society met at 7:30 P. M. in the Senate Chamber, and listened to an interesting paper on "Salmon P. Chase," by Dr. N. S. Townshend, of Columbus, a member of the General Assembly that first elected Mr. Chase as United States Senator from Ohio. [This paper appeared in the QUARTERLY for September, 1887.]

ACTION OF THE TRUSTEES.

The Board of Trustees met Thursday afternoon, February 24th, Mr. Sessions in the chair.

The election of officers being in order, the following were chosen:

President—F. C. Sessions, Columbus.

First Vice-President—R. Brinkerhoff, Mansfield.

Second Vice-President—Wm. E. Moore, Columbus.

Secretary and Librarian—A. A. Graham, Columbus.

Treasurer—S. S. Rickly, Columbus.

The following standing committees were appointed:

Executive Committee—F. C. Sessions, James S. Robinson, N. S. Townshend, Wm. E. Moore, H. A. Thompson.

Finance Committee—Wm. E. Moore, James S. Robinson, S. S. Rickly.

Committee on Resolutions—Wm. P. Cutler, Eli T. Tappan, N. S. Townshend, Chas. Townsend, A. W. Jones.

Committee on Archæology—G. F. Wright, W. C. Turner, R. Brinkerhoff, I. W. Andrews, M. F. Force.

Library Committee—Charles J. Wetmore, S. C. Derby, R. W. Stevenson, N. S. Townshend.

After which, on motion, the board adjourned.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary.

OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Report of the Executive Committee for the Year Ending February 19, 1888.

To the Members:

The annual reports of the Treasurer and the Secretary have been by them submitted to this Committee, which, in the absence of a meeting of the Trustees, is authorized to act upon them. We have examined them, find them correct and approve and recommend them to your careful attention.

From the Treasurer's report you will learn that at the close of the year, 297 names (inclusive of those who have advanced their fees for the coming year,) are on the roll of active members.

During the year the following members deceased:

Prof. S. F. Baird, of Washington City, August 19, 1887. Judge Silas H. Wright, of Lancaster, November 18, 1887. Hon. V. B. Horton, of Pomeroy, January 14, 1888.

The list of members from the date of organization to the close of this year will be published in the March Quarterly. Many of these pay their annual dues by donations of valuable articles to the museum, or of valuable works to the library. Among the latter should be mentioned Mrs. Mary De Renne, of Georgia, whose donation of two rare works was so valuable, we felt such gifts should be recognized in an honoary membership.

We hope the Secretary, on whom the burden of the work falls, will be aided by every member of the society. When he, and the members of the Editorial Committee, especially its chairman, do so much for the society free, they should be encouraged and upheld by every one interested in the preservation of our history. In no way

can this be done so effectually as by aiding to increase the active and life membership. Each member is requested to forward to the Secretary the names and addresses of those whom you would recommend for membership.

With increased membership the association will be in position to publish substantial volumes of papers every year, as well as to add constantly to its publication fund. From life-membership fees and other sources the association has now an annual income fund of some $1,200, as appears in the Treasurer's report.

It is earnestly hoped that members have not taken a strictly mercantile view of their membership of the society. In the first years of the society it was not possible to render a material *quid pro quo* for membership fees, and at the same time establish a Publication Fund. "The society has accomplished results that cannot be estimated by any pecuniary standard of value. It has encouraged original research by its meetings and publications; it has brought historical students and specialists together; it has caused a more frequent exchange of ideas among them; and it has awakened greater public interest in historical studies." The present enthusiasm for history in Ohio is in no small degree the fruit of the Ohio Historical Society.

We confidently appeal to every member to aid in this effort. We should have *one thousand* members in this society. By united effort we can secure them. Will not each one help?

F. C. Sessions,
Wm. E. Moore,
N. S. Townshend,
H. A. Thompson,
Executive Committee.

Report of the Secretary for the Year Ending February 19, 1888.

To the Executive Committee:

The year of this Society just closed has been one of very satisfactory progress. We have been able to do what we could not do in the preceding two years of our growth; viz., establish a publication, whose merit grows with itself, and through which we are now able to give to our members a substantial return for their money. Heretofore we have been obliged to be content that we were establishing a Society, which in time would be of great good to the citizens of our State and country. That this is apparent is shown by the large and much varied correspondence, as evinced by the postage item in my list of expenses. The labor has not relaxed in any case; but my duties elsewhere, from which I derive my support, has necessitated the employment of considerable clerk hire. By this means, only, can the work, necessary to the success of the Society, be accomplished now. I am glad to be so situated that I can carry forward the legitimate work free of all expense to the income. I trust this can be continued; thus enabling the Society to pursue this line of policy, and render a substantial return for the fees of its members.

I shall endeavor during the coming year to increase our Life Membership, or endowment fund. I feel assured we can lay the foundation for such a fund now — in this, our first Centennial year — which will in the near future yield an annual income sufficient to defray the annual expenses. Other societies, old in years, have struggled long to reach the condition of the Ohio Society, whose roll of active membership is now exceeded by few other State societies in America.

Donations of books, magazines, papers, manuscripts, etc all that constitute a library devoted to the preservation of history, are constantly offered, which for the present must be kept in personal libraries of the officers till a safe place is provided for them. The same may be said of the

museum. There is no field in the world so rich in archæology and prehistoric and historic articles as Ohio, and could the Society but provide a place of safety, accessible, on reasonable terms, to the public, it would quickly be filled by the finest State collection in America. Can not the members assist to reach this result? United action will produce wonderful results, and I trust my efforts will be seconded by each member, who, by securing a few additional members, can materially aid to reach the desired end. I trust I shall have the continued co-operation of all the members, and can not close without expressing my thanks to those who have upheld my hands by words of kindness and by heartily and kindly encouraging me in the work of the Society.

A. A. GRAHAM,
Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

RECEIPTS 1887–1888.

130 renewals	$5 00	$ 650 00	
60 new members	5 00	300 00	
7 advanced fees for '88–'89	5 00	35 00	
11 QUARTERLY subscribers	4 00	44 00	
Cash advertising in QUARTERLY		30 00	
Sale of QUARTERLY		17 70	
Advance sales on History of Ohio		34 40	$1,111 10

DISBURSEMENTS.

Printing QUARTERLY No. 1	158 17	
" " " 2	141 53	
" " " 3	137 99	
Job printing, O. S. Journal	105 95	
" " Hann & Adair	102 37	
Editors' expenses	19 10	
Sundries, A. H. Smythe	9 30	
Library case	16 00	
Exchange	20	
A. A. Graham, Sec'y, for expenses as per memoranda, (see below)	356 70	$1,047 31
Balance on hand		63 79

LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

Miss Susan M. Sturgess, Mansfield	50 00	
J. Q. A. Ward, New York	50 00	
Interest receipts	8 90	$108 90

SECRETARY'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

RECEIPTS 1887–1888.

Cash received from Treasurer.....	356 70	
" " " advance sale of Histories, principally in postage stamps.....	20 60	
DISBURSEMENTS.		
Postage.....		165 42
Clerk hire.....		57 53
Travel and board — Sec'y and others.....		146 25
Sundries.....		8 10
Total.....	$377 30	$377 30

STOCK ON HAND CLOSE OF YEAR, FEB. 19, 1888.

Electrotype Plates —		
QUARTERLY, No. 1, Vol. 1, cost.....	39 20	
" " 2, " 1, "	33 60	
" " 3, " 1, "	33 60	$106 40
Number of QUARTERLIES on hand —		
Vol. 1, No. 1.....	44	
" 1, " 2.....	39	
" 1, " 3.....	78	
Total.....	161 copies.	

OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Organized as the Ohio Archaeological Association, September 1, 1875. Reorganized as the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, and Incorporated March 13, 1885.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

Pres.—F. C. SESSIONS....Columbus.
1st Vice Pres.—R. BRINKERHOFF .....Mansfield.
2d Vice Pres.—REV. WM. E. MOORE .....Columbus.
Sec'y. and Libr'n.—A. A. GRAHAM .....Columbus.
Treasurer—S. S. RICKLY. Columbus.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

(*For three years.*)

WM. P. CUTLER.....Marietta.
E. C. DAWES.....Cincinnati.
REV. WM. E. MOORE ...Columbus.
DR. N. S. TOWNSHEND...Columbus.
C. C. BALDWIN.....Cleveland.

(*For two years.*)

A. W. JONES.....Youngstown.
HYLAS SABINE.....Richwood.
REV. H. A. THOMPSON..Westerville.
DR. I. W. ANDREWS.....Marietta.
JAMES S. ROBINSON.....Kenton.

(*For one year.*)

ALLEN G. THURMAN.....Columbus.
DOUGLAS PUTNAM.....Harmar.
JOHN W. ANDREWS.....Columbus.
F. C. SESSIONS.....Columbus.
R. BRINKERHOFF.....Mansfield.

Synopsis of Constitution and By-Laws.

Articles of Incorporation.

The undersigned citizens of Ohio, having associated themselves together, and desiring to form a corporation not for profit, under the laws of said State of Ohio, do hereby subscribe and acknowledge the following articles of incorporation:

1. The name of such corporation shall be The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

2. Said corporation shall be located and its principal business transacted at the city of Columbus, county of Franklin, and State of Ohio.

3. Said Society is formed for the purpose of promoting a knowledge of Archæology and History, especially of Ohio, by establishing and maintaining a library of books, manuscripts, maps, charts, etc., properly pertaining thereto; a museum of prehistoric relics and natural or other curiosities or specimens of art or nature promotive of the objects of the Association — said library and museum to be open to the public on reasonable terms—and by courses of lectures and publication of books, papers and documents touching the subjects so specified, with power to receive and hold gifts and devices of real and personal estate for the benefit of such Society, and generally to exercise all the powers legally and properly pertaining thereto.

4. Said Society has no capital stock.

[The articles of incorporation were signed by twenty-eight persons.]

By-Laws.

ARTICLE I.

MEMBERSHIP.

Section 1. The members of this Society shall be known as Active Members, Life Members, Corresponding Members and Honorary Members.

Sec. 2. Active members shall pay annually, in advance, a fee of five dollars; shall be entitled to vote and hold office; shall receive free all publications of the Society, and have free access to the Museum and Library. Any person who shall annually donate articles acceptable to the Society, whose value shall be determined by the Trustees to be five dollars, shall be rated as an active member.

Sec. 3. Life members shall pay the sum of fifty dollars. Such payment shall exempt them from all fees, and shall entitle them to all the privileges of active membership. Any person who shall make a donation, acceptable to the Society, whose value shall be determined by the Trustees to be fifty dollars, shall be rated as a life member. Life members may designate the purpose to which their subscription or donation may be applied not inconsistent with the laws of the Society.

All such subscriptions shall be known as the Life Membership Fund, which shall be invested by the Trustees in safe securities, the income of which only shall be used.

Sec. 4. Corresponding members shall be persons who feel an interest in the Society and its objects, and are willing to aid it by representing its interests, and by securing donations for its Museum and Library. They shall receive free the annual reports and such other publications as the Trustees may direct.

Sec. 5. Honorary members shall be persons distinguished for scientific and literary attainments, particularly in the department of American history.

ARTICLE II.

GOVERNMENT.

Section 1. The government of this Society shall be vested in a Board of fifteen Trustees, who shall be chosen by ballot, immediately upon the organization of the Society. Five shall serve for the term of three years, five for the term of two years, and five for one year; and at each annual meeting five Trustees shall be elected for the term of three

years. In case of a vacancy occurring in the Board of Trustees, the remaining Trustees shall fill the same until the next annual election, when the vacancies shall be filled by votes of the members. The Trustees shall hold their offices until their successors are elected and qualified.

SEC. 2. The Board of Trustees shall elect a President, one or more Vice Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary and Librarian, and such other officers and agents as the proper management of the Society may require. They shall also appoint an Executive Committee, a Finance Committe, and such other committees as may be from time to time needed. The Trustees may fix the tenure and compensation of all officers and agents, and may remove the same, whenever the interests of the Society may so require. They may adopt a code of By-Laws for their government, not inconsistent with the laws of this Society, and submit the same to the approval of the members thereof.

ARTICLE III.

OFFICERS.

SECTION 1. PRESIDENT.—The President of the Board of Trustees shall be the President of the Society. He shall preside at all meetings of the Society; shall have a casting vote; shall appoint all committees, and shall perform other duties pertaining to the office. In his absence the senior Vice President shall serve, and in the absence of any such officer, any member may be called to the chair *pro tempore.*

The Vice President, the Secretary and Librarian, and the Treasurer shall perform the duties respectively connected with their offices, the duties of Secretary and Librarian being performed by one person.

ARTICLE V.

MEETINGS.

SECTION 1. The annual meetings of this Society shall usually be held in the city of Columbus or elsewhere as the Executive Committee may decide, on the nineteenth day of February of each year, when that date falls on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday or Friday; when, however, it falls upon any other day of the week, then the annual meeting shall be held on the Tuesday following.

SEC. 2. The other meetings of this Society shall be held at such times and such places as the Trustees may direct.

SEC. 3. The President or any one of the Trustees shall call a special meeting on a request of any five members.

ARTICLE VII.

LIABILITIES.

SECTION 1. No debts shall be contracted by this Society, nor any of its Trustees, officers or agents.

ARTICLE VIII.

AMENDMENTS.

SECTION 1. These By-Laws may be amended by a majority vote at any meeting of the Society. Any amendments shall be proposed in writing, and shall, if required by a majority of those present, lie over for action until the next meeting.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

[From Date of Organization, March 12th, 1885, to February 19th, 1888.]

HONORARY MEMBERS.

De Renne, Mrs. Mary, Savannah, Ga.
Force, Judge M. F., Cincinnati, O.
Nicholson, Col. John P., Philadelphia, Pa.
Smucker, Isaac, Esq., Newark, O.
*Whittlesey, Col. Charles, Cleveland, Ohio.

*Died October 18, 1886

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

*Baird, Prof. S. F. Washington, D.C.
Darling, Gen. Chas. W., Oneida, N.Y.
Powell, Maj. J.W., Washington, D.C.
Putnam, Prof. F. W., Cambridge, Mass.
Thomas, Prof. Cyrus, Washington, D. C.
Ward, Mrs. Fannie B., Ravenna, O.

LIFE MEMBERS.

Sturges, Miss Susan M., Mansfield, O.
Ward, J. Q. A., New York.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Aldeman, E. R., Marietta.
Anderson, J. H., Columbus.
Andrews, Dr. I. W., Marietta.
Andrews, Mrs. I. W., Marietta.
Andrews, Prof. M. R., Marietta.
Andrews, John W., Columbus.
Andrews, Gwynne, Columbus.
Andrews, C. H., Youngstown.
Arnett, Rev. B. W., Wilberforce.
Avery, Dr. Elroy M., Cleveland.
Axline, H. A., Zanesville.

Babcock, Rev. C. H., Columbus.
Backus, A. L., Toledo.
Baldwin, Dr. J. F., Columbus.
Baldwin, Jos. W., Columbus.
Baldwin, Charles C., Cleveland.
Barger, B. F., Dayton.
Barney, E. J., Dayton.
Barnett, James, Cleveland.
Bates, James L., Columbus.
Bedell, Rev. G. Thurston, Gambier.
Beecher, C. A., Cincinnati.
Bennett, S. W., Bucyrus.
Beresford, Dr. A. E., Germano.
Bliss, Mrs. Mary, Columbus.
Bohl, Henry, Marietta.
Bonham, L. N., Oxford.
Bosworth, Sala, Cincinnati.
Braddock, John S., Mt. Vernon.
Brazee, John S., Lancaster.
Bretts, W. H., Cleveland.
Bridge, Henry A., Columbus.
Brickell, W. D., Columbus.
Briggs, J. C., Columbus.
Bright, Geo. W., Columbus.
Brinkerhoff, Roeliff, Mansfield.
Brister, E. M. P., Newark.
Brooks, J. T., Salem.
Brown, Abram, Columbus.
Brown, Thomas, Waynesville.
Brown, Leroy D., Reno, Nevada.
Brown, Benj. S., Columbus.
Bruhl, Gustav, Cincinnati.
Butler, Cyrus, New York City.
Buell, Wm. H., Marietta.
Burgess, Solon, Cleveland.
Bushnell, Dr. Wm., Mansfield.
Burr, Rev. Erasmus, Portsmouth.
†Bryant, Charles W., Granville.
Byers, Rev. A. G., Columbus.

Cadwallader, J. D., Marietta.
Candy, Robert, Columbus.
Chamberlain, W. I., Ames, Iowa.
Chamberlain, W. H., Cincinnati.
Chapin, John W., Columbus.
Chittenden, Henry T., Columbus.
Church, S. H., Columbus.
Clarke, Robert, Cincinnati.
Clark, Dr. C. F., Columbus.
Cochran, T. J., Cincinnati.
Conrad, S. A., Massillon.
Collins, Wm. A., Toledo.
Cooper, W. C., Mt. Vernon.
Cope, Alexis, Columbus.
Cotton, Dr. J. D., Marietta
Cowen, B. F., Cincinnati.
Cowles, Edwin, Cleveland.
Crall, Leander, New York City.
‡Curtis, Henry B., Mt. Vernon.
Curtis, Henry L., Mt. Vernon.
Curtis, W. F., Marietta.
Curtis, R. L., Marietta.
Cutler, Wm. P., Marietta.
Cutler, Rev. Carroll, Cleveland.
Cutter, F. J., Marietta.
Curry, W. L., Marysville.

Dana, Geo. W., Belpre.
Dann, J. W., Columbus.
¶Daugherty, M. A., Columbus.
Davis, Theo. F., Marietta.
Dawes, R. R., Marietta.
Dawes, E. C., Cincinnati.
Day, L. W., Cleveland.
Dean, Prof. B. S., Hiram.
Delano, Columbus, Mt. Vernon.
Dennison, Mrs. Wm., Columbus.
Denver, J. W., Wilmington.
Derby, Prof. S. C., Columbus.
Derthick, F., Mantua.
Deshler, Wm. G., Columbus.
ȝDevereux, J. H., Columbus.
Doane, John M., Columbus.

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*Died August 19, 1887.
†Died August 31, 1886.
‡Died Nov. 5, '85. ¶Died Jan. 15, '87.
ȝDied March 17, '86.

Dodge, H. H., Cleveland.
Dodge, W. S., Cleveland.
Doren, John G., Dayton.
Drinckle, H. C., Lancester.
Duer, Geo. W., Millersburg.
Durrett, R. T., Louisville, Ky.
Dutton, A. S., Cheshire.

Eaton, Dr. John, Marietta.
Eells, Dan P., Cleveland.
Ellis, S. H., Springboro.
Ellis, John W., New York City.
Ely, Heman, Elyria.
Evans, Dr. E. S., Columbus.
Ewing, Hugh, Lancaster.

Falconer, Dr. Cyrus, Hamilton.
Farquhar, Dr. O. E., Zanesville.
Farrar, Wm. M., Cambridge.
Fearing Henry, Harmar.
Ferris, Aaron A., Cincinnati.
Fieser, F., Columbus.
Finch, Dr. C. M., Columbus.
Findley, Samuel, Akron.
Finley E. B., Bucyrus.
Firestone, C. D., Columbus.
Follett, Martin D., Marietta.
Foraker, Joseph B., Cincinnati.
Foster Charles, Fostoria.
Foster, W. S., Urbana.
Freed, A., Lancaster.
Freeman, George D., Columbus.

Gard, Hiram, Vincent.
Gard, D. H., Columbus.
Gardner, Geo. W., Cleveland.
Garfield, Mrs. Lucretia R., Mentor.
Gates, Beman, Marietta.
Gates, N. B., Elyria.
Gilmore W. J., Columbus.
Gilmore, W. E., Chillicothe.
Gladden, Rev. Washington, Columbus.
Glazier, A. W., Belpre.
Godfrey, T. J., Celina.
Goodnough, Prof. W. S., Columbus.
Gordon, W. J., Cleveland.
Graham, A. A., Columbus.
Gray, S. C., Deavertown.
Green, Rev. F. M., Kent.
†Gregg, H. H., New Lisbon.
Grover, Rev. J. L., Columbus.

Haddock, Mrs. T. T., Cincinnati.
Hall, Theodore Parsons, Detroit, Mich.
Hamilton, Dr. J. W., Columbus.
Handy, Truman P., Cleveland.
Harris, Israel H., Waynesville.
Hart, Dr. B. F., Marietta.
Hart, Dr. F. O., West Unity.
Haskins, Chas. F., Columbus.
Harter, M. D., Mansfield.
Hartzler, Prof. J. C., Newark.
Harvey, Prof. Thos. W., Painesville.
Hay, John, Cleveland.
Hayden, W. B., Columbus.
Hayes, Hon. R. B., Fremont.
Hedges, Henry C., Mansfield.
Henderson Dr. J. P., Newville.
Hills, Rev. O. A., Wooster.
Hinsdale, Prof. B. A., Ann Arbor, Mich.
Hirsh, L., Columbus.
Hite, J. C., Lancaster.
Hoadly, Hon. George, New York.
Holden, L. E., Cleveland.
*Horton, V. B., Pomeroy.
Hott, Harry, Gallipolis.
Hoyt, James, M., Cleveland.
Hughes, Philip, Hamilton.

Ide, Mrs. Harriet, Columbus.
Irons, Rev. John D., New Concord.

Janney, John J., Columbus.
Johnson, S. L., Columbus.
Jones, Asa W., Youngstown.
Jones, Prof. E. A., Massilon.

Kagy, Isaac, Tiffin.
Kelley, H. C., Marietta.
Kemmler, Wm. F., Columbus.
Kerschner, Rev. L. M., Yellow Springs.
King, Rufus, Cincinnati.
Kirkley, Dr. C. A., Cleveland.
Knabenshue, O. D., Columbus.
Knight, Prof. Geo. W., Columbus.

Ladd, Rev. Henry M., Cleveland.
Lee, Alfred E., Columbus.
Levering, Allen, Mt. Gilead.
Lindenberg, Henry, Columbus.
Little, Dr. James, Logan,
Lockwood, C. B., Cleveland.
Loving, Dr. Starling, Columbus.
Lovejoy, Mrs. N. E., Columbus.
Loy, Rev. Marcus, Columbus.
Lukens, Prof. J. T., Lebanon.
Lyman, R. H., Cincinnati.

McClymond, J. W., Massillon.
McCord, David A., Oxford.
McCurdy, Robert, Youngstown.

†Died March 6, 1888.

*Died Jan. 14 1888.

McFadden, John F., Columbus.
McFarland, Prof. Robt. W., Oxford.
McIntosh, E. S., Beverly.
McIntosh, Mrs. C. J., Beverly.
McIntosh, Mrs. Eliza, Beverly.
McIntire, A. R., Mt. Vernon.
McKown, Dr. G. E., Mt. Vernon.
McMahon, J. A., Dayton.
McMillen, Reuben, Youngstown.
McNeill, John B., Lancaster.
McQuigg, George, Pomeroy.

Macauley, Daniel, New York City.
Maclean, J. P., Hamilton.
Manley, Manlius, Galion.
Mark, Prof. E. H., Louisville, Ky.
Markeson, C. E., Columbus.
Marten, Charles D., Lancaster.
Mather, Samuel, Cleveland.
Matthews, Stanley B., Washington.
Matthews, C. B., Cincinnati.
Matthews, Alfred, Painesville.
Mattox, A. H., Cincinnati.
May, Manuel, Mansfield.
Metz, Dr. C. F., Madisonville.
Miles, W. Y., Columbus.
Mills, John, Marietta.
Miller, T. Ewing, Columbus.
Millikin, Dr. Dan., Hamilton.
Moore, C. H., Clinton, Ill.
Moore, Thos. W., Harmar.
Moore, Rev. Wm. E., Columbus.
Morehead, Warren K., Xenia.
Morgan, George W., Mt. Vernon.
Moses, Prof. Thos. F., Urbana.
Munson's Joel Sons, Albany, N. Y.

Nash, George K., Columbus.
Neil, Robert E., Columbus.
Neil, Moses H., Columbus.
Noble, Henry C., Columbus.
Noble, Warren P., Tiffin.
Norris, C. H., Marion.
Nye, A. T., Marietta.

Olds, C. N., Columbus.
Orton, Prof. Edward, Columbus.
Outhwaite, Joseph H., Columbus.

Palmer, Corwin F., Dresden.
Parrott, Charles, Columbus.
Patton, A. G., Columbus.
Payne, Hon. Henry B., Cleveland.
Peabody, S. P., Columbus.
Peabody, James R., Zanesville.
Peaslee, John B., Cincinnati.
Peetrey, Isaac G., London.
Perkins, Douglas, Cleveland.
Perkins, Henry B., Warren.
Peters, O. G., Columbus.
Peters, Geo. M., Columbus.
Pierson, Rev. H. W., Toledo.
Plimpton, H., Columbus.
Pool, Harwood R., New York City.
Pratt, Amasa, Columbus.
Priest, F. M., Bryan.
Prince, Prof. F. M., Springfield.
Putnam, Douglas, Harmar.

Randall, E. O., Columbus.
Reeve, Dr. J. C., Dayton.
Reinhard, Jacob, Columbus.
Renick, Alexander, Chillicothe.
Renick, Harness, Circleville.
Rice, Harvey, Cleveland.
Rickly, S. S., Columbus.
Robe, W. H., Cherry Fork.
Robertson, W. T., Harmar.
Robinson, James S., Kenton.
Robinson, Dr. J. D., Wooster.
Ruggles C. B., Cincinnati.
Ryan, Daniel J., Portsmouth.

Sabine Hylas, Columbus.
Schueller, Dr. J. B., Columbus.
Schultz, Wm. A., Lancaster.
Scott, Rev. W. H., Columbus.
Scovil, Rev. S. F., Wooster.
Sessions F. C., Columbus.
Sessions, Mrs. Mary, Columbus.
Shawan, Prof. J. A., Mt. Vernon.
Shepard, Dr. W., Columbus.
Sherman, Hon. John, Mansfield.
Siebert, John, Columbus.
Sinks, Geo. W., Columbus.
Smith, Rev. N. S., Columbus.
Smith, Mrs. N. S., Columbus.
Smith, H. R., Mansfield.
Smythe, A. H., Columbus.
Snyder, P. M., Marietta.
Snyder, John, Jr., Springfield.
Southworth, Prof. Geo. C. T., Gambier.
Squire, Andrew, Cleveland.
Steele, Robt. W., Dayton.
Stevenson, Prof. R. W., Columbus.
Stimson, R. M., Marietta.
Sturges, Willis M., Mansfield.
Sturgess, John E., Mansfield.
Sullivan J. J., Millersburg.
Sullivant, L. S., Columbus.
Super, Prof. C. W., Athens.
Swayne, Wager, New York City.

Tappan, Prof. Eli T., Gambier.
Thompson, Rev. H. A., Westerville.
Thompson, Ralph, Springfield.
Thompson, Peter G., Cincinnati.
Thompson, Dr. J. C., Rollersville.

Thresher, E. M., Dayton.
Thresher, J. B., Dayton.
Thurman, Allen G., Columbus.
Tiffin, Miss Diathea M., Chillicothe.
Tod, Henry, Youngstown.
Todd, Dr. Jos. H., Wooster.
Townsend, Amos, Cleveland.
Townsend, Charles, Athens.
Townshend, Prof. N. S., Columbus.
Turner, S. R., Marietta.
Turner, Will C., Columbus.
Twiss, George H., Columbus.

Vail, Henry M., Cincinnati.
Venable, Prof. W. H., Cincinnati.
Vincent, H. C., Marietta.
Vincent, O. B., Austin, Nev.

Waddell, Dr. Wm. A., Chillicothe.
Waite, Hon. M. R., Washington, D.C.
Waite, Richard, Toledo.
Waggoner, Dr. Joseph, Ravenna.
Wall, Edw. B., Columbus
Washburn, George G., Elyria.
*Ward, Durbin, Cincinnati.
Warner, Dr. R. G., Columbus.
Warner, A. J., Marietta.
Waters, Israel R., Marietta.
Welch, J. M., Athens.
Welker, Martin, Wooster.
Wells, C. K., Marietta.
Wells, M. P., Marietta.
Wetmore, C. J., Sr., Columbus.
Wheeler, F. A., Marietta.
White, Dr. C. C., Columbus.
White, Prof. E. E., Cincinnati.
White, Henry C., Cleveland.
Whiteley, Wm. S., Springfield.
Wick, Paul, Youngstown.
Wilcox, James A., Columbus.
Willard, Rev. Geo. W., Tiffin.
Williams, T. C., Columbus.
Williams, A. J., Cleveland.
Williams, W. W., Cleveland.
Williamson, Samuel E., Cleveland.
Wilson, A. J., Cincinnati.
Wing, Charles T., New York City.
Wing, L. B., Newark.
Wright, Prof. G. F., Oberlin.
Wright, J. S., Cincinnati.
†Wright, S. H., Lancaster.

Yorston, John C., Cincinnati.
Young, Gen. John. H., Urbana.

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*Died May 22, 1886.

†Died Nov. 18, 1887.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS IN OHIO.

COUNTY.	NAME OF COLLECTOR.	POSTOFFICE.	CHARACTER OF COLLECTION.	NUMBER SPECIMENS
Ashland	H. B. Case	Loudonville	Indian and Archæological	1,000
	J. E. Bush	Ashland	Indian, Archæological and Fossil	1,000
	Thomas Bushnell	Hayesville	Indian, Archæological and Fossil	500
	Dr. P. H. Clark	Ashland	Indian	300
	H. B. Case	Ashland	Archæological	
	John Freshwater	Loudonville	Indian and archæological	500
Clermont	R. J. Bancroft	Batavia	Indian, Pioneer and Historical	450
	Chas. H. Blanchard	Batavia	Archaeological, Geological and Indian	875
	Homer McLean	Williamsburg	Indian and Pioneer	200
	Dr. J. E. Myers	Goshen	Pioneer and Historical	350
	Prof. J. K. Parker	Clermontville	Archaeological, Indian and Historical	300
	Robert Paxton	Loveland	Pioneer and Indian	150
	Samuel Dolan	Lindale	Archaeological and Indian	1,000
	R. O. Collis	Loveland	Archaeological	
	Mrs. Jos. Glaney	Williamsburg	Archaeological and Indian	500
	Cary W. Hartman	New Richmond	Archaeological, Indian and Geological	1,000
	John Paul	Glen Este	Indian	500
	Stephen Rybolt	Mulberry	Indian and Archaeological	500
	Arthur Nichols	New Richmond	Pioneer Relics	
Clarke	D. Whittaker	Tremont City	Archaeological	
Cuyahoga	Harry N. Johnson	Cleveland	Indian Relics	
	Robert Graham	Chagrin Falls	Archaeological and Indian	2,000
	Mr. Williams	Chagrin Falls	Archaeological and Indian	1,000

COUNTY.	NAME OF COLLECTOR.	POSTOFFICE.	CHARACTER OF COLLECTION.	NUMBER SPECIMENS
Cuyahoga	Western Reserve Historical Society	Cleveland	Archaeological, Historical, Pioneer and Indian	
Champaign	Urbana University	Urbana	Archaeological	
	Thos. F. Moses, M.D.	Urbana	Archaeological	200
Crawford	Jos. Arter	Crestline		200
Coshocton	Geo. F. Manning	Coshocton	Indian Mound Relics, etc	
Delaware	F. P. Hills	Delaware	Indian	
	Prof. E. T. Nelson	Delaware	Indian	
	R. E. Hills	Delaware	Archaeological	
Defiance	C. E. Slocum	Defiance	Archaeological	
Erie	Chas. Carpenter	Kelley's Island	Archaeological	
	Addison Kelly	Kelley's Island	Historical	
Fairfield	A. Freed	Lancaster	Conchology	
	Mr. F. C. Drum	Rushville		
	A. T. Lyle	Millersport	Archaeology	
Fayette	D. H. Hare	Washington C. H.	Archaeological and Indian	500
Franklin	Mr. S. F. Bareis	Canal Winchester		
	A. E. Goodrich	Worthington		
Fulton	J. H. Andrews	Wauseon	Indian and Historical	30
	Geo. Blake	Wauseon	Indian	250
	Dr. W. H. Howard	Winameg	Indian and Pioneer	50
	Thos. Mikesell	Wauseon	Indian	20
	A. L. Sargent	Delta	Indian	50
Green	W. D. Lazier	Xenia	Archaeological	
Guernsey	Homer M. Knowels	Milnerville	Archaeological and Indian	500

Guernsey	W. B. Rosamond	Milnerville	Archaeological and Indian	400
Hamilton	Florien Giauque	Glendale	Archaeological and Indian	3,000
	F. Braun	Cincinnati	Archaeological	
	Judge Joseph Cox	Cincinnati	Archaeological	
	W. Holden	Cincinnati	Archaeological	
	Dr. C. L. Metz	Madisonville	Archaeological	
	G. Kiechler	Cincinnati	Archaeological	
	R. W. Mercer	Cincinnati	Archaeological and Historical	
	G. W. Wilcox	Cincinnati	Archaeological	
Hancock	C. H. Bryan	Findlay	Archaeological	
Holmes	J. W. Bodine	Big Pine	Archaeological and Historical	1,500
	Daniel D. Duer	Millersburg	Indian	100
	F. M. Hughes	Nashville	Archaeological	2,500
	J. T. Hughes	Nashville	Archaeological	2,000
	J. R. Vance	Nashville	Archaeological	100
Highland	J. L. Smith	Greenfield	Archaeological	
Huron	Dr. A. R. Read	Norwalk	Archaeological and Indian	100
Hardin	Jno. Banning	Roundhead		
	W. C. Hampton	Mt. Victory		
	J. R. Nissley	Ada		
Knox	Henry Wilson	Mt. Vernon	Indian Relics	3,300
	G. E. McKown	Mt. Vernon	Archaeological, Indian and Historical	1,000
	Peter Neff	Gambier	Archaeological	3,500
Lake	E. J. Ferris	Little Mountain	Relics of all kinds	
	L. H. Luce, M. D	West Mentor	Pioneer, Old Relics, Old Coins, &c.	
	Geo. Paine	Painesville		

COUNTY.	NAME OF COLLECTOR.	POSTOFFICE.	CHARACTER OF COLLECTION.	NUMBER SPECIMENS
Licking	Wm. Cunningham	Newark	Archaeological and Indian	
	Denison University	Granville	Archaeological and Indian	
	O. M. Nelson	Newark	Indian	
	Jacob Schrock	Newark	Indian	
Licking	J. C. Hartzler	Newark	Archaeological	
	Isaac Smucker	Newark	Archaeological	
Lorain	Ed. Nance	North Eaton	Indian	
	Thos. Gawn	Lorain	Indian	
	M. W. Ingalls	La Grange	Biology	
	Isaac Sheldon	Avon Lake	Indian	
	Chas. Lord	Elyria	Indian	
	D. C. Baldwin	Elyria	Indian	
Logan	Col. Don Piatt	Macocheek	Historical, etc	
	Pierce Wickersham	Bellefontaine	Indian	
	Jonathan Griffin	Huntsville	Indian	
	Chas. Folsom	Bellefontaine	Indian	
	J. H. Harrod	Huntsville	Indian	
Lucas	G. M. Acklin	Toledo	Archaeological	
Mahoning	Fred Brockway	Youngstown	Pioneer history and relics	
	R. P. Manning	Youngstown	Archaeological	450
	Mahoning Valley Historical Society.	Youngstown	Pioneer history and relics	250
	Hon. E. Whittlesey	Canfield	Historical	Large.
Miami	T. C. Harbaugh	Casstown	Archaeological, Indian and historical	
Meigs	W. B. Rosamond	Minersville	Archaeological	

Morrow	Collins Buck	Fulton		
	T. C. Cunard	Fulton	Indian	
	Dr. F. C. Shaw	Bennington		
	Dr. James Swingue	Mt. Gilead	Geological	
	Riley Albach	Mt. Gilead	Archaeological and historical	
	J. Benedict	Bennington		
Montg'm'ry	Dr. H. S. Brinkley	Alexandersville	Geological, pre-historic and Indian	Large.
	L. W. Gunckel	Dayton	Archaeological	
	A. A. Thresher	Dayton	Archaeological	
Portage	Cornelius Baldwin	Nelson	Indian and historical relics	
	Edw. Hure	Nelson	Indian relics	
	S. M. Luther	Garrettsville	Archaeological	
	G. W. Dean	Kent	Archaeological	
	Homer Mills	Nelson	Indian relics	
	Robert Chapman	Garrettsville	Archaeological and Indian	500
Putnam	Judge Skinner	Kalida		
	Dr. E. Dimock	Dupont		
Ross	Wm. Mills	Chillicothe	Archaeological and Indian	300
	W. E. Evans	Chillicothe	Archaeological and Indian	100
	C. W. McGinnis	Frankfort	Archaeological and Indian	400
	James Wood	Chillicothe	Pioneer, Indian and historical	50
	G. S. Franklin	Chillicothe	Archaeological	
	Drs. Galbraith & Leslie	Chillicothe	Archaeological, Indian and pioneer	500
	R. Putnam	Chillicothe	Archaeological, Indian, and historical	
	Professor Poe	Chillicothe	Archaeological and historical	
	John Leip	Chillicothe	Archaeological	
Richland	Dr. J. W. Craig	Mansfield	Archaeological	Large.

COUNTY.	NAME OF COLLECTOR.	POST OFFICE.	CHARACTER OF COLLECTION.	NUMBER SPECIMENS
Richland	Dr. J. T. Henderson	Newville	Archaeological	Large.
	Benj. K. Henry	Mansfield	Archaeological	
	Washington McBride	Mansfield	Archaeological	Modt.
	J. S. B. Matson	Spring Mills	Archaeological	Large.
	Dr. J. W. Craig	Mansfield	Archaeological	
	Ed. Wilkinson	Mansfield	Mainly Geological	Large.
Summit	Buchtel College	Akron	Archaeological, Indian and Pioneer	
	A. J. Golden	Akron	Archaeological	1,000
	Matthew C. Read	Hudson	Archaeological	
Stark	Mt. Union College	Mt. Union	Archaeological, Indian and Pioneer	1,000
	Chas. E. Rice	Mt. Union	Indian, Currency and Money, Historical, Ancient Books and Minerals	2,500
	Dr. P. A. Pease	Massillon	Indian, Historical and Archaeological	1,000
	John Stepper	Wilmot	Indian	200
Seneca	J. F. Lebold	Attica	Archaeological	
Trumbull	Ira Hyde	North Bristol	Indian and Historical	
	A. H. Smith	Burgh Hill	Archaeological and Pioneer	3,000
Tuscarawas	T. B. Bowers	Winfield	Archaeological	
Van Wert	Geo. Lewis	Van Wert		
Warren	Dr. Chas. Hough	Waynesville	Archaeological	
	Dr. J. T. Corden	Morrow	Archaeological	
	Dr. Ralph Michael	Springboro	Archaeological	
	Chas. F. Coleman	Lebanon	Archaeological and Pioneer	
	Wm. Bean	Lebanon	Fossils	350
	Dr. T. D. Dyche	Lebanon	Indian Relics and Fossils	Large.

	Z. T. Loer	Lebanon	Archaeological	
	Israel H. Harris	Waynesville	Archaeological	
	J. H. Harris	Waynesville	Archaeological, Indian, Geological and Historical	Large
	Thos. J. Brown	Waynesville	Archaeological, Indian, Geological and Historical	
	Elmer Keever	Waynesville	Archaeological, Indian and Historical	
	Geo. S. Sale	Waynesville	Archaeological	
	Isaac Clements	Waynesville	Prehistoric Specimens, Pottery, Bones	
	J. K. O'Neil	Lebanon	Indian Relics and Fossils	
	S. S. Scoville	Lebanon	Indian and Fos[illegible]	1,500
Wayne	W. C. Scott	Dalton	Indian Relics	500
	C. S. Wertz	Dalton	Indian Relics	1,000
	T. Reed	Dalton	Indian Relics	1,000
Wash'gton	G. W. Gandee	Rockland	Indian	
	Joshua King	Belpre	Indian and Coins	
	Tapper Stone	Belpre	Indian and Manuscript	
	Jas. Holden	Marietta	Coins	
	Jos. Sturgis	Marietta	Coins	
	D. F. Sayer	Marietta	Miscellaneous	
	D. M. Woodbrige	Marietta	Miscellaneous	
	T. K. Wells	Marietta	Miscellaneous	
	Geo. Pillsbury	Marietta	Indian and Coin	
	Miss Virgie Dodge	Beverly		
Wyandot	Dr. J. O. Cubaugh	Wharton		

HISTORICAL, PIONEER AND OTHER SUCH SOCIETIES IN OHIO.

NAME OF SOCIETY.	COUNTY.	OFFICERS.	ADDRESSES.	No. of Members.
Ashland County Pioneer and Historical Society	Ashland	Wm. Seamans, *President* Dr. P. H. Clark, *Rec. Sec'y* Dr. S. Riddle, *Cor. Sec'y & Lib*	Hayesville Ashland Ashland	283
Pioneer Association of Ashtabula County, Ohio	Ashtabula	H. L. Morrison, *President* J. A. Howells, *Sec'y*	Jefferson Jefferson	
Athens County Pioneer Association	Athens	D. B. Stewart, *President* C. H. Welch, *Sec'y*	Athens Athens	75
Champaign and Logan County Pioneer Association	Champaign or Logan	Isaac H. Dickenson, *President* John F. Lukens, *Sec'y*	Harper W. Mansfield.	800
Central Ohio Scientific Association	Champaign.	S. W. Margrave, *President* Prof. Thos. F. Moses, *Sec'y*	Urbana Urbana	10
Clermont County Historical and Pioneer Society	Clermont	Hon. John Shaw, *President* Capt. R. J. Bancroft, *Sec'y*	New Richmond. Batavia	157
Pioneer	Coshocton	Chas. H. Johnson		
Fulton County Pioneer and Historical Association	Fulton	D. W. Howard, *President* Thos. Mikesell, *Sec'y*	Winameg Wauseon	201
Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio	Hamilton	M. F. Force, *President* Julius Dexter, *Sec'y*	Cincinnati Cincinnati	175
Lake County Pioneer Society	Lake	Robert Murray, *President* L. H. Luse, M. D., *Sec'y*	West Mentor. West Mentor.	850

Licking County Pioneer, Historical and Antiquarian Society	Licking	Isaac Smucker, *President*	Newark	125
		Capt. J. H. Smith, *Sec'y*	Newark	
Mahoning Valley Historical Society	Mahoning	Thos. J. McLane, *President*	Warren	
		Dr. J. F. Wilson, *Sec'y*	Youngstown	
Meigs County Pioneer Society	Meigs.	L. M. Highley, *President*	Rutland	150
		H. L. Lee, *Sec'y*	Pomeroy	
		A. G. Gardener, *Cor. Sec,y*	Rutland	
Miami County Pioneers' Association	Miami	J. M. McCampbell, *President*	Troy	100
		David Jones, *Sec'y*	W. Milton	
Muskingum Pioneer Associat'n	Muskingum	Thos. McFees, *President*	Zanesville	100
		Wm. Gray, *Sec'y*	Zanesville	
Richl'd County Pioneer Society	Richland	John Ward, *President*	Pavonia	50
		John Meredeth, *Sec'y*	Shelby	
Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Society	Sandusky	Gen. R. P. Buckland, *Pres*	Fremont	250
		J. H. Burgoon, *Sec'y*	Fremont	
Van Wert County Pioneer Society	Van Wert	Davis Johnson, *President*	Van Wert	35
		D. A. Johns, *Sec'y*	Van Wert	
Washington County Pioneer Society	Washington	Douglas Putnam, *President*	Marietta	
		W. F. Curtis, *Sec'y*	Marietta	

BOOK NOTES.

LIFE, JOURNALS AND CORRESPONDENCE OF REV. MANASSEH CUTLER, LL.D. By his Grandchildren, William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler. Two volumes. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1888.

The diary, correspondence and papers of Dr. Cutler ought to throw a flood of light upon many events in the early history of the Northwest, and upon the policy of the old Congress in organizing and providing for the settlement of the region beyond the Ohio river. Portions of his journals were published years ago, and have been read and re-read by students of Ohio's history. The subsequent disappearance of the original journal and many other papers of Dr. Cutler, the negotiations for their surrender and their final recovery by his grandchildren are matters known to many in America. That these papers have finally been arranged, thrown into connected form, and, accompanied by much other matter throwing light upon his life and career, are now published in these two volumes is something for which careful students of Western American history may well be thankful.

Space does not permit a close analysis of the volumes in this column, but they are not a mere memoir, a record of personal merits and doings of the energetic Doctor. While his personal career and character receive full attention, the services which he rendered America, the Massachusetts soldiers and the Northwest form the main theme. "It will be seen," says the introduction, "that Congress and the army were the principal factors [in the Western movement]; that there was a concert of action if not of design; that Congress sought to prepare the way for the occupation of the Western wilderness, to make 'rough places smooth, and the crooked places straight'; while the army, with their Commander-in-Chief in full support, sought to retrieve losses, heal wounds and find repose by encountering new risks, new hardships, and new dangers in laying deep and broad the foundations of Christian civilization in 'new States' 'Westward of the Ohio.'

"The service performed by Dr. Cutler was in bringing into harmonious action the lines of policy that were marked out by one party and cordially accepted by the other."

The above passage fairly outlines the aim of the writer's, and the volumes expand and illustrate the whole of the movements leading to the ordinance of 1787 and the Western settlements. The preliminary movements in Massachusetts, the formation of the Ohio Company, the pressure brought to bear upon Congress, the framing of the ordinance of 1787, and the settlements in Ohio, all receive careful consideration, and the influence of Dr. Cutler in all those movements is fully shown. That his share in some of these measures seems slightly overestimated, does not materially lessen the historical value of the work before us. On the whole, the volumes will be welcomed as being a decided addition to our knowledge of the early history of the Northwest, and of the parts which Manasseh Cutler took in those events.

Compliments of

Hon. Emilius O. Randall,

COLUMBUS,

OHIO.